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“Δ παιρλε έιρεαηη άίλε,  
Οέιμίο lom-λυσό θυρ λοαδαρ.”

MAC CRUITIN.

**FORAS FEASA AR ÉIRINN**

**le**

**seachtúrún céitinn, D.D.**

**THE HISTORY OF IRELAND**

**BY**

**GEOFFREY KEATING, D.D.**

# FORAS FEASA AR ÉIRINN

le

SEATRÚN CÉITINN, O.O.

AN TREAS IMLEABAR

i n-a bfuil

AN DARA LEABAR DEN STAIR

"Finibus occiduis describitur optima tellus  
Nomine et antiquis Scotia dicta libris."

S. DONATUS.

"Inis fá réim i gcéin 'ran iarrtar tá,  
Dá ngairis luét léigín tír éireann fialthar cáil."

Translation by A. U. R.

MCMVIII.

THE  
HISTORY OF IRELAND

BY  
GEOFFREY KEATING, D.D.

VOLUME III  
CONTAINING  
THE SECOND BOOK OF THE HISTORY  
EDITED  
*WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES*

BY  
REV. PATRICK S. DINNEEN, M.A.

*LONDON*  
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1908

Ե՛ր ճի՛ր թի՛ն Ծի՛ն ճա՛նչա՛յն ժա՛ոհա՛նչա՛յն քի՛ն,  
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'Տ ի՛ն քա՛նութե՛մ ճա՛ոհա՛նչա՛ն ճի՛րն ո՛ր ճի՛ր,  
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Եօճա՛ն ճա՛ն.

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YAZULI FORMAT



CIOMHNAIN FÁ COMAIRCE

Duibhne

CRAOIBHE AN CÉITINNIGH

oe

CONNRAÓ NA SAEÓILGE

na leabhair reo oo rchíob

SEACTRUN CÉITINN

ar

STAIR NA HÉIREANN

mar cuimhniúghar ar a raobair

ar fon

ceanglan na nsaevóel

PÁORAIIS UA DUINNIN

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FORAS FEASA AR ÉIRINN.  
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

# FORAS FEASA AR ÉIRINN.

liber secundus.

## I.

Δς ρο ριορ वो ριοζαιδ έπειανν αςυρ να νοάλαιδ υ'είρ έπειοιη αςυρ  
να hannahaid ζο τιζεαέτ ζαλλ ινντε αςυρ ζυρ ζαδαναρ ▲  
h-ορλαμαρ.

Δοειρ Sanvepur ραν έείολεαδαν वो Siorma na Sacran  
5 ζο οτυζαναρ ζαεβιλ वो λάταιρ ιαρ ηγαβάιλ έπειοιη ιαο  
ρέιν αςυρ αν ημέιο वो βί αα αη έυμαρ ιρ ρά ρμαέτ έαρρπις  
να Róma, ιρ ναέ ραιβε αιρσβρπιονηρα οίλε ορηα αέτ έαρρσζ  
να Róma ζο ροέταιν ρλαίτιρ έπειανν वो ζαλλαιδ. Δς ρο  
βρηαέρα αν υζοαιρ: α “Τυζαναρ έπειανναις” αη ρέ, “ο  
10 λάταιρ ιαρ ηγαβάιλ έπειοιη υόιβ, ιαο ρέιν αςυρ ▲ ραιβε αα  
αη έυρ ιρ ρά ρμαέτ έαρρπις να Róma, ιρ ηί ραιβε αοηάιλ  
αα αη αιρσβρπιονηρα οίλε वो ηειέ αη έιυιunn αέτ έαρρσζ  
να Róma αηάιν ζυρ αν αιμρην υο,” .ι. ζο ζαβάλταρ ζαλλ.  
Ζιόεαδ ηί ριορ αν ηί-ρε δοειρ Sanvepur, μαρ ιρ ρολλυρ  
15 ▲ Ρραλταρ έαιριλ, μαρ ▲ λαβρann αη ηρηαλ ράιό μαα  
έπειαμόιν, ιρ μαρ ▲ υρσιλρρζεανν αν τ-άιρεαη ριόζ वो  
ριολ έπειαμόιν वो ζαδ έιρε ηέ υρδαναις वो ριολαδ αν  
έπειοιη ι ηέιυιunn αςυρ να έιρ. β “Οο ζαδ ηρηαλ ράιό  
ρλαίταρ έπειανν υειέ ηηβλιαδνα, αςυρ ρυλ वो ριολαδ  
20 ριαζαίλ έριορτ lé Ράοραις ι ηέιυιunn वो ζαδαναρ 57 ρις  
οο ριολ αν ριόζ έέαονα ρλαίταρ έπειανν αςυρ ρόρ वो

α. Hiberni initio statim post Religionem acceptam se suaque  
omnia in Pontificis Romani ditionem dederant, nec quemquam  
alium supremum principem Hiberniae ad illud usque tempus  
praeter unum Romanum Pontificem, agnovrant.

# HISTORY OF IRELAND.

## BOOK II.

### I.

Of the kings of Ireland and of their history after the Faith and of its annals to the coming of the Normans hither, and to their acquiring supremacy over the country, as follows :

SANDERUS says in the first book on the English Schism that the Gaels, immediately on their accepting the Faith, put themselves and all they had under the power and government of the Bishop of Rome ; and that they had no other chief prince over them but the Bishop of Rome until the Normans gained the supremacy of Ireland. These are the author's words : " The Irish," says he, " immediately on their accepting the Faith, put themselves and all they had under the obedience and government of the Bishop of Rome, and they did not acknowledge any other chief prince over Ireland but the Bishop of Rome until that time," that is, until the Norman Invasion. But this statement of Sanderus is not true, as is plain from the Psalter of Cashel, where it speaks of Irial Faidh, son of Eireamhon, and where it gives the number of the kings of the race of Eireamhon who ruled Ireland before Patrick planted the Faith in Ireland and afterwards. " Irial Faidh ruled the kingdom of Ireland ten years, and before the rule of Christ was planted by Patrick in Ireland fifty-seven kings of the stock of that king held the sovereignty of Ireland ; and

*b. írial propheta per decem annos regnavit, et antequam regula Christi per Patricium seminata esset in Hibernia, de semine eiusdem Regis quinquaginta septem reges regnaverunt super Hiberniam, et post Patricium de prole illius quinquaginta reges.*

báodar caogao míg do flioct an firi céadna i bflaitear Éireann o'ér páorais." Agus ató ro follur a hannálaid dopta Éireann agus ar an Réim Ríogruide.

- 25 Agus ro mar eis Polichonicon ar an ní gcéadna-ro, mar a n-abair: a "Ó tigeact páorais go haimiri fíolmíró míg (.i. mí Muíman) do bádar 33 míg i bflaitear Éireann fead ceitpe céad bliadán; i n-aimiri iomorro fíolmíró tángadar fionnloclonnais mé páirdear Noruaegienses mar
- 30 don mé n-a otaoiréad Turgesiuir go héirinn." Ar rin ir iontuigte go maíadar mígte ar Éirinn do fíadéalaib i noiaíó aimirpe páorais. Agus doeir an t-ugdar céadna na bmaíra céadna-ro ríor ran áit céadna: b "Ó aimiri Turgeir gur an míg noíreanaó Ruairí míg Connact do
- 35 bádar 17 míg ar Éirinn."

Ar fad ní oíob ro ir follur naó ríor a páó naó maíbe mí ar Éirinn ó aimiri páorais go fábálar fáll. Agus eis leir ro an ní léagtar ran 36 eipirtil do ríorób Anselmur naomta, airdearrog Cantemburie, mar a

40 ríoróbann go Muirdearíac Ó bmaí mí Éireann. amail léagtar as Doctúir Urreir ran veapán do énoirais ré do leirpeadaib naomcléipe Éireann ir Sacran go aroile; agus do péir an ugdair céadna mar a ríoróbann Anselmur gur an Muirdearíac gcéadna an ran fá haoir von

45 Tigearna II00, mar a n-abair: c "Anselmur óglac eagailre Cantemburie go Muirdearíac glórmair tré fíárais óé mí Éireann"; agus mar ríoróbar airdearrog Cantemburie Lanfrancur go Toirnealbac Ó bmaí mí Éireann an ran fá haoir von Tigearna 1074, do péir Doctúir Urreir

a. Ab adventu Sancti Patricii usque ad Feldemidii Regis tempora triginta tres reges per quadringentos annos in Hibernia regnaverunt; tempore autem Feldemidii Noruaegienses duce Turgesio terram hanc occuparunt.

b. A tempore Turgesii usque ad ultimum monarchum Rodericum Conatiae Regem septemdecem reges in Hibernia fuerunt.



moreover, there were fifty kings of the descendants of the same man ruling the kingdom of Ireland after Patrick." And this is plain from the ancient annals of Ireland and from the Reim Rioghruidhe.

Thus does the Polycronicon treat of the same matter where it says: "From the coming of Patrick to the time of king Feidhlimidh (i.e., king of Munster), there were thirty-three kings on the throne of Ireland in the space of four hundred years. And in the time of Feidhlimidh the Fionnlochlonnaigh, who are called Norwegians, together with their leader Turgesius, came to Ireland." From this it is to be inferred that there were kings over Ireland of the Gaelic race after the time of Patrick. And the same author uses these very words in the same place, "From the time of Turgesius to the last king Ruaidhri, king of Connaught, there were seventeen kings over Ireland."

From all these facts it is plain that it is not true to say that there was no king over Ireland from the time of Patrick to the Norman Invasion. And with this agrees what we read in the thirty-sixth epistle written by St. Anselmus, archbishop of Canterbury, in which he writes to Muircheartach O'Briain, king of Ireland, as we read in Doctor Usher in the gleanings he has made of the letters written to one another by the holy clerics of Ireland and of England, and according to the same author, where Anselmus writes to the same Muircheartach in the year of the Lord 1100, where he says, "Anselmus, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to the glorious Muircheartach by the grace of God king of Ireland"; and as Lanfrancus, archbishop of Canterbury, writes to Toirrdhealbhach O Briain, king of Ireland, in the year of the Lord 1074, according to Doctor

*c. Moriardacho glorioso gratia Dei Regi Hiberniae, Anselmus servus Ecclesiae Cantuariensis.*

50 ran áit vo haitléasgáó linn, a “Lanfrancus peccatác asur  
 aipreapros neamóiongimálta naoimeasgailre Dorobernensis  
 beannaét go reirbír ir go nguíde go Toirribéalbac níg  
 éireann.”

Atá as neartugáó lé rípinne an neite-re an ní léasgáir  
 55 ran 41 eirirtil ran leabair céasna, marí a ríriobánn an  
 céio-henrí ní Sacran go Raulphur aipreapros Canter-  
 burie as a iarraió aipr gíáó vo éabairt vo fagarit var  
 b’ainm Gregorius asur a oirneadó ’n-a earpos i n-át Cliaé  
 tré foráileam níog éireann. As ro briaéna níog Sacran an  
 60 tan fá haoir von Tigearna 1123: ó “Vo foráil ní éireann  
 oim-ra lé ’n-a ríribinn asur buirgíiríg Óuiblinne sur  
 éogadair an Treasóir-re ’n-a earpos, ir vo cuiréadair  
 éugad-ra é va oirneadó. Uime rin foráilim-re oir-ra,  
 ionnur go utugá a n-iarraió vóib, cóimlíonadó gan éairve  
 65 vo déanam air a oirneadó.”

Ar gac ní va noubramaí ir follur nac fíor ní a ráó  
 nac raibe ní ná aipreapros an air éirinn go Sabaltar Sall;  
 asur ir follur fíor nac raibe cur cinnre as Pápa na  
 Róma air éirinn miam, áet marí vo bí air an Spáinn nó ar  
 70 an b’fainge nó air éiríóadib oile go haipirí Óonnéadó  
 mic b’uain bóuaimé vo éuair von Róim tuairim ir feacé  
 mbliáona véas air éirí fíóir sul tángadair Sall i n’éirinn.  
 Síreadó air noul vo Óonnéadó mac b’uain von Róim, amáil  
 aoubramaí éuar, tug féin asur uairle éireann donca ní  
 75 cur vo beir as Earpos na Róma oimra, vo b’níg go mbíoir  
 féin earaontac ní céile fá ioméornam éireann. Óir tarí  
 ceann go ríriobair uéadair go coitcéann sur b’ionn  
 Constantinur imirí iar ngabáil baíte vó oilein iar-  
 éair Eorpa vo Sílbepier Pápa, níoir fealb von Pápa air  
 80 éirinn rin, vo b’níg nac raibe fealb na h’éireann as aoin-  
 imirí va raibe miam ran Róim ná as Constantin. Va

a. Lanfrancus] peccator et indignus Dorobernensis Ecclesiae  
 archiepiscopus magnifico Regi Hiberniae Terdeluaco benedic-  
 tionem cum servitio et orationibus.



Usher in the passage we have quoted: "Lanfrancus a sinner and unworthy archbishop of the holy Church of Dorobernia, benediction with service and prayers to Toirrdhealbhadh, king of Ireland."

The truth of the same position is strengthened by what we read in the forty-first letter in the same book, where Henry the First of England writes to Radulphus, archbishop of Canterbury, asking him to give orders to a priest called Gregorius and consecrate him bishop in Dublin by the direction of the king of Ireland. He repeats the words of the English king in the year of the Lord 1123: "The king of Ireland in writing, and the burgesses of Dublin have made known to me that they have elected this Gregorius bishop, and have sent him to thee to be consecrated. Therefore, I command thee to grant their petition and to perform his consecration without delay."

From all we have said it is plain that it is not true to say that there was neither king nor chief ruler over Ireland until the Norman Invasion; and it is moreover plain that the Roman Pontiff had never definite authority over Ireland any more than he had over Spain or France or other countries until the time of Donnchadh, son of Brian Boraimhe, who went to Rome about seventy-seven years before the Normans came to Ireland. But when Donnchadh, son of Brian, went to Rome, as we have said above, himself and the nobles of Ireland consented to the Bishop of Rome's having authority over them, because they were wont to contend with one another for the mastery of Ireland. For, although authors generally write that the Emperor Constantine, after his baptism, bestowed the islands of western Europe on Pope Sylvester, that did not give the Pope possession of Ireland, since no emperor that was ever in Rome, nor Constantine, had possession of Ireland.

b. Mandavit mihi Rex Hiberniae per breve suum et Burgenses Dublinae quod elegerunt hunc Gregorium in Episcopum et eum tibi mittunt consecrandum. Unde tibi mando ut petitioni eorum satisfaciens eius consecrationem sine dilatione expleas.

50 ran áit do haicléasdaí linn, a “Lanfrancus peactaé agus  
 aitheascas neamhiongmálta naoimeasailre Dorobernensis  
 beannaíct go reirbír ir go ngráde go Toirneadbaé níg  
 éiréann.”

Atá as neartuadú lé fírinne an neite-re an ní léasdaí  
 55 ran 41 eiriríl ran leabair céadna, mar a ríobann an  
 céir-Heinrí ní Sacran go Raulphur aitheascas Canter-  
 bury as a iarradú ari gráda do éadair do fásar do  
 b'ainm Gregorius agus a oirneadú 'n-a eapros i n-áit Cliaí  
 tré foráilead níos éiréann. As go briaíra níos Sacran an  
 60 ran fá haorí von Tígearna II23: b “Do foráil ní éiréann  
 oim-ra lé 'n-a ríobinn agus buirgíreíg ‘Duiblinne gur  
 togarad an gíeasóir-re 'n-a eapros, ir do éiréadair  
 éusad-ra é do oirneadú. Uime rin foráilim-re oir-ra,  
 ionnur go ngráda a n-iarradú oíib, cóimlíonad go an éiríre  
 65 do éadadú ar a oirneadú.”

Ar fad ní do noubamair ir follur naé ríor ní a ráó  
 naé raibe ní ná aitheascasíon ar éirinn go Sabaltar Gall;  
 agus ir follur rór naé raibe cur cinnce as pápa na  
 Róma ar éirinn niam, áit mar do bí ar an Spáinn nó ar  
 70 an b'fínead nó ar éiríadú oile go haimeirí ‘Donnada  
 mic b'fínead b'fínead do éadú von Róim tuairim ir fead  
 mbliadna véas ar éirí ríorí ríle tángadair Gall i n'éirinn.  
 Gíeas ar noul do ‘Donnada mac b'fínead von Róim, áit  
 aitheascasíon tuar, tug féin agus uairle éiréann donca ní  
 75 our do deit as eapros na Róma oimra, do b'fínead go mbíor  
 féin eaprasad ní céile fá ioncórnad éiréann. Oir tar  
 ceann go ríobadú ugráir go coitcéann gur b'fínead  
 Constantinur imirí idir ngabáil baíte do oilein iar-  
 tair eopra do Síberter pápa, níor fead von pápa ar  
 80 éirinn rin, do b'fínead na raibe fead na h'éiréann as aithe-  
 scasíon do raibe niam ran Róim ná as Constantin. Do

a. Lanfrancus peccator et indignus Dorobernensis Ecclesie  
 archiepiscopus magnifico Regi, Hiberniae Terdeluaco ben-  
 tionem cum servitio et orationibus.

How, then, could there be any force in the right which the emperor might give to the Pope, to what was neither in his own possession nor in that of any emperor that succeeded him since? And hence, it is not to be supposed that so large a kingdom as Ireland—Doctor Sanderus notwithstanding—would have no high chief or high king over it from the time of Patrick to the Norman Invasion, but the Pope alone.

Before we speak of the kings of Ireland after the Faith, we shall set down here from the seanchus the manner in which kings were inaugurated in Ireland, and for what object they were inaugurated, including high kings and provincial kings and territorial high chiefs. Know that formerly in Ireland the only title the territorial chiefs had was that of king, as was the custom among the Jewish nation (except that the Jewish nation had dukes), and amongst many other nations; thus the Dal Riada in Scotland had a leader, *taoiseach*, until Fearghus Mor, son of Earc, was made king over them.

Now, the reason why one person is made king over tribes and over districts is in order that each one in his own principality should be obedient to him, and that none of them should have power to resist or oppose him during his sovereignty, and to have it understood that it was by God who is Lord and ruler over all that he has been appointed king over the peoples to govern them, and hence that they are bound to obey him and to bear in mind that it is the same only God who is Lord of heaven and of earth and of hell that gave him that authority, and that it was from Him he obtained sovereignty; and frequently it was the cleverest and most learned people in Ireland who were chosen to reign, to repress evil, to adjust tribute, to make treaties of peace, such as Slainghe, son of Deala, son of Loch, who was chief judge in Ireland in his time, Ollamh Fodla, who was learned, and Tighearnmhus, his son, who was likewise



péir rin cionnur b'éirir go mbiaó bpiḡ ran éairt vo-  
 béapaó an t-impir von pápa ar an ní naó maibe 'n-a  
 feilb féin ná i feilb donuine va otáinig 'n-a úiaió ran  
 85 impireadé ó foim? Agus uime rin ní hinnearta go mbiaó  
 comhóir na héireann vo píogadé—gan éao vo 'úocúir  
 Sanveur—gan aipoflaic ná aiporí uirre ó aimir pápaais  
 go Sabáitar Gall dé an pápa amáin.

Cuirfeam píor annso ar an reanúr, ful laibeoram  
 90 ar píogais éireann iar gcireadám, an moó ar a nveintí  
 píoga o'orougao i néirinn, agus creao pá n-oruigéi iao,  
 uir aiporíḡ ir píḡ cúigíó ir píomflaic fearainn. Tuig  
 naó bioó vo ḡairm i néirinn i n-allóo dé ḡairm píog as  
 a bflaéais fearainn, amail pá nóir von éine lúuirdéac (dé  
 95 amáin go mbíoir uiricé as an gcine lúuirdéac) agus vo  
 móran ve éineadúis oile, amail vo bioó taoiréac i nallbain  
 as 'Dál Riada nó gur píogaó fearḡur Mór mac Earca  
 oirra.

Ir é fáé iomorro pá píogtar don uine amáin ór cionn  
 100 na bpuibleac ir na gcrióó ionnur go mbiaó ḡac don 'n-a  
 flaitéar féin umál vó, ir gan ar bpeit vo neac úioó  
 rreapabpa ná cur 'n-a aḡaio reao a flaitéir féin, agus  
 a tuigrin ḡurab ó 'Úia ir coúnaó agus ir cumadéac ór  
 cionn éais vo horuigéao 'n-a píḡ ór cionn na bpuibleac  
 105 é va brollamnuḡao, agus va péir rin go noleagair vóis  
 umla vo éadairt vó ir a tuigre ḡurab é an t-aoin-Úia  
 céadna ir coúnaó ar neam ar talmain ir ar irreann tug  
 an rmaét roin vó, ir ḡurab uaió fuair flaitéar; agus  
 ir minic ḡurab iao na daoine ir ḡlioca agus ir foḡlumta  
 110 vo bioó i néirinn vo coḡtaoi i bflaitéar vo rmaétuḡao  
 an uile ir vo éiméangail na cána ir vo fnaómaó na  
 píotéána, mar atá Sláinge mac Deala mic Loic pá aipor-  
 breiteam i néirinn 'n-a aimir féin, Ollam fóola vo  
 bí foḡlumta agus Tigearnmur a mac vo bí fearac mar

How, then, could there be any force in the right which the emperor might give to the Pope, to what was neither in his own possession nor in that of any emperor that succeeded him since? And hence, it is not to be supposed that so large a kingdom as Ireland—Doctor Sanderus notwithstanding—would have no high chief or high king over it from the time of Patrick to the Norman Invasion, but the Pope alone.

Before we speak of the kings of Ireland after the Faith, we shall set down here from the seanchus the manner in which kings were inaugurated in Ireland, and for what object they were inaugurated, including high kings and provincial kings and territorial high chiefs. Know that formerly in Ireland the only title the territorial chiefs had was that of king, as was the custom among the Jewish nation (except that the Jewish nation had dukes), and amongst many other nations; thus the Dal Riada in Scotland had a leader, *taoiseach*, until Fearghus Mor, son of Earc, was made king over them.

Now, the reason why one person is made king over tribes and over districts is in order that each one in his own principality should be obedient to him, and that none of them should have power to resist or oppose him during his sovereignty, and to have it understood that it was by God who is Lord and ruler over all that he has been appointed king over the peoples to govern them, and hence that they are bound to obey him and to bear in mind that it is the same only God who is Lord of heaven and of earth and of hell that gave him that authority, and that it was from Him he obtained sovereignty; and frequently it was the cleverest and most learned people in Ireland who were chosen to reign, to repress evil, to adjust tribute, to make treaties of peace, such as Slainghe, son of Deala, son of Loch, who was chief judge in Ireland in his time, Ollamh Fodla, who was learned, and Tighearnmhus, his son, who was likewise



gráó ir umlaét ir buíoeácar va máigirtir, ir mar rin  
 oligítear vo na hioctaránaib beit va ríogáib, tré mar ir  
 lé rlaic córa ir ceipte rtiúpar na hioctaráin, ir naé lé  
 raobair airm na héascópa.

- 160 1r amlaio bíor an trlat vo-beiri an t-ollam i láim an  
 ríog zeal go hiomlán, vo comaréta na ríunne lé vcuig-  
 téar an gile bíor ran rlaic, vo bríð go ramailtear an  
 zeal mīr an bfríunne ir an vub mīr an mbriéig.

1r i cúir fá mbí an trlat vípeac, va cúir i gcéill vo  
 165 na puibleacáib ir vo na tuataib supab vípeac glan gan  
 élaon óligear an mī beit 'n-a bmaétruib ir 'na bpeacáib  
 roiri éarair ir námaio, roiri éréan ir anbrann, vo ríer  
 mar vo beit impearan roiri a óá láim.

1r uime orvuisítear an trlat roin gan fáob gan  
 160 énapán uirre acé combréio uile, va cúir i gcéill vo na  
 tuataib supab amlaio óligio na tigeapnaioe beit gan  
 anpocraét gan gairibéan acé combréio fá cúir ceipte ir  
 combruium vo gac donvaine, vo éarair ir vo námaio, vo  
 ríer a gcópa, 7rl.

- 165 1 vTeamhaig vo gairéi gac mī vo ríogáib éireann  
 miam ag a mbíob ríogacé éireann uile, vo éoil na  
 n-ollamian ir na n-uafal mīa gceirveam, agur vo éoil  
 easailre uairle ir ollamian ó roin anuar, ar leic na ríog.

1 vTulaig óg vo gairéi ó néill; agur ó catáin ir  
 170 ó hágáin vo gaireacó é. ó Donnáile a marpurcál rluais  
 ir muinntear bhrléim ir clann bhoiréasra breiteamain  
 féineacair ulaó uile.

1 gcill mic Cpeannáin vo gairéi ó Donnall; agur ó  
 fíoráil vo gaireacó é, agur ó Galléubair a marpurcál  
 175 rluais.

Ar Maig ádar vo gairéi ó brian; mac na mara  
 vo gaireacó é; ó Duibíoir éoil na manac agur mag  
 corimáin a marpurcál rluais; muinntear flannéuire a

loves and obeys and is grateful to his master, in the same way subjects are bound to their kings, for it is with the wand of equity and justice he directs his subjects, and not with the edge of the weapon of injustice.

The wand which the ollamh places in the king's hand is altogether white, as a token of truth as symbolised by the whiteness of the rod, since whiteness is likened to truth, and blackness to falsehood.

The reason why the wand is straight is to signify to the people and the tribes that the king is bound to be straight and faultless, without bias in his words and judgments between friends and enemies, between the strong and the weak, as if there were a contention between both his hands.

The reason it is ordained that the wand be without knot or excrescence, but be altogether smooth, is to signify to the people that the lords are bound to be free from unevenness or roughness in dealing justice and equity to all, to friend and enemy, according to their deserts, etc.

It was at Tara on Leic na Riogh that every one of the kings of Ireland who possessed the kingdom of all Ireland, by the consent of the ollamhs and of the nobles, used to be inaugurated before the Faith, and by the consent of the Church and of the ollamhs ever since the Faith.

It was at Tulach Og that O Neill was inaugurated, and it was O Cathain and O Hagain who inaugurated him; O Donnghaile was his marshal of the hosts and muinntir Bhrislein and clann Biorthagra were the brehons of feineachas of all Ulster.

At Cill Mic Creannain O Domhnaill was inaugurated, and it was O Fiorghail who inaugurated him, and O Gallchubhair was his marshal of the hosts.

At Magh Adhar O Briain was inaugurated; it was Mac na Mara who inaugurated him. O Duibhidhir of Coill na Manach and Mag Cormain were his marshals of the hosts;



breiteamain féineadair; clann Éiríe a ollamain pé ván;  
180 clann Éiricín nó clann Bhruidneada a ollamain pé  
reanúr.

Ar Lior beannéair vo gairtí Mac Cairteais; Ó Súill-  
eadáin Mór agus Ó Donnada Mór vo gairead é;  
muinntear Ruairc a maircáil rluais; clann Doúagáin  
185 a breiteamain; muinntear Óálais a ollamain pé ván,  
agus muinntear Óuinnín a ollamain pé reanúr.

Ar Énoc an bóga vo gairtí Mac Muiréada; agus  
Ó Nualláin vo gairead é; a ead ír a eairiad vo Nualláin;  
Ó Deoradáin a breiteam, agus Mac Eodada a ollam pé  
190 ván.

Ar Leic mic Eodada vo gairtí Tigearna Cinnriolac;  
agus Mac Eodada vo gairead é.

Ar Óún Caillige béirre vo gairtí Ó Bhrain, agus  
Mac Eodada vo gairead é.

## II.

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Vo ríogaid éireann o'éir éireimh annro ríor.

Vo gab Laozaire mac Néill naoigiallais mic Eodac  
muigmeadúin mic Muiréadais Tíru mic Fiacrac Spaid-  
tine vo ríol éireamóin ríogac éireann veic mbliadna  
ar ríco; agus fá hí Ríogac a mácair; agus ír í an  
200 ceatramad bliadain va flaitear vo cuir Coelertinur  
Pápa Párpais i nÉirinn vo ríolac an éireimh, an tan  
fá haoir von Tigearna 431 bliadain. Agus bliadain ír  
trí ríco fá haoir vo Párpais an tan roin. Óir an tan  
cugad i mbroto é, an naoimad bliadain vo flaitear Néill,  
205 ír pé bliadna déas fá haoir dó; agus vo éir na hoct  
mbliadna déas vo bí roime vo flaitear Néill, ionnur go  
raide mar rin éirre bliadna déas ar ríco; agus cuirtear



muinntear Flannchuidhe were his brehons of feineachas; clann Chraith his ollamhs in poetry; clann Chruitin or clann Bhruaidealha his ollamhs in seanchus.

On Lios Beannchair Mac Carrtaigh was inaugurated. It was O Suilleabhain Mor and O Donnchada Mor who inaugurated him. Muinntear Ruairc were his marshals of the host; clann Aodhagain were his brehons; muinntear Dhalaigh were his ollamhs in poetry, and muinntear Dhuinnin were his ollamhs in seanchus.

On Cnoc an Bhogha Mac Murchadha was inaugurated; and it was O Nuallain who inaugurated him; his steed and trappings for O Nuallain. O Deoradhain was his brehon and Mac Eochadha his ollamh in poetry.

On Leac Mic Eochadha the lord of Ui Cinnsealaigh was inaugurated, and it was Mac Eochadha who inaugurated him.

On Dun Caillighe Beirre O Brain was inaugurated, and it was Mac Eochadha who inaugurated him.

## II.

On the kings of Ireland after the Faith as follows:

Laoghaire, son of Niall Naoighiallach, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhon, son of Muireadhach Tireach, son of Fiacraidh Sraibhthine, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland thirty years; and his mother was Rioghnach; and it was in the fourth year of his reign that Pope Coelestinus sent Patrick to Ireland to plant the Faith, in the year of the Lord 431; and Patrick was sixty-one years of age then. For when he was taken into captivity in the ninth year of the reign of Niall his age was sixteen years, and he lived the remaining eighteen years of the reign of Niall, so that he was thirty-four years at the close

leir rin na trí bliadhna fíceao do bí Dáti i bflaitear  
 Éipeann, ionnurf go raibte páorais reacht mbliadhna véas  
 210 ir dá fícto an tan ro marbað Dáti; agus cuirtear  
 ceitpe bliadhna do flaitear laogaire leir rin, go noéin  
 rin bliadhain ir trí fícto v'aoir as páorais as teact i  
 nÉirinn só. Agus ir móire ir inéireote fípinne an  
 neite-pe mar léagtar ran leabair da ngoirtear Martyro-  
 215 logium Romanum garab dá bliadhain agus ré fícto fá  
 haoir do páorais an tan fuair ré báf. Ionann rin agus  
 garab bliadhain ir trí fícto fá plán só as teact i  
 nÉirinn 'n-a earpos. Óir ir veapb garab bliadhain ir  
 trí fícto do bí as fiolaó an éireoin i Éirinn pul fuair  
 220 báf. Sióeo do éir Coelestinur ré bPáorais Pálauiur  
 'n-a earpos do fiolaó an éireoin i nÉirinn an tan fá  
 haoir von Tigearna 430, do péir beo i n-annálaib  
 Staire na Sacran. As ro mar veir: a "An tan fá  
 haoir von Tigearna 430 bliadhain do éir Coelestinur  
 225 pápa Pálauiur 'n-a earpos ar vótur gur na Scotair  
 ré creideam do Críost sóib." Agus ir i rin an trear  
 bliadhain do flaitear laogaire agus an bliadhain na  
 bPáorais só teact i nÉirinn. Agus iar poctain Éipeann  
 só mar don ré dá éleipeac véas, do gab tír i n-íoctar  
 230 laigean as Innbeairi Deagair, ir do beannuis trí cealla  
 ann rin, mar atá Ceall fine mar ar fágaib a leabair  
 agus cuir do éairib póil ir beannair; an vaira cill Teac  
 na Rómána; agus an trear cill Domnae Airoa; agus  
 iar mbeannugaó na gceall roin só, tis Náti mac Garreón  
 235 tigearna na tíre rin agus ionnairbair ar an gcric rin é,  
 go noeacair i nálbain go bfuair báf ann rin.

Dála páorais táinig i nÉirinn i gcionn bliadhna i  
 noirio pálauiur agus ceatpar ar fícto do naoimléir  
 'n-a focair; nó do péir henricur Antipropenrir i  
 240 mbeacair S. Germanur, amail léagtar ran 168 ca. go  
 vtu páorais trióao earpos leir i nÉirinn. As ro



of that reign. Add to this the twenty-three years Dathi held the kingdom of Ireland, and it leaves Patrick fifty-seven years when Dathi was slain. Add four years of Laoghaire's reign to this, and it gives sixty-one years as Patrick's age on his coming to Ireland. And this is rendered the more probable, as we read in the book called the Roman Martyrology that Patrick's age was six score and two years at his death. This is equivalent to saying that he had completed his sixty-first year when he came to Ireland as bishop. For it is certain that he spent sixty-one years in planting the faith in Ireland before his death. But before Patrick, Coelestinus sent Paladius as bishop to plant the Faith in Ireland in the year of the Lord 430, according to Beda in the annals of the History of Sacsa. Thus does he speak: "In the year of the Lord 430 Pope Coelestinus sent Paladius as first bishop to the Scots who believed in Christ." And that was the third year of the reign of Laoghaire and the year before Patrick came to Ireland. And when he reached Ireland with twelve clerics he landed in the lower part of Leinster at Innbhear Deaghaidh, and blessed three churches there, to wit, Ceall Fine, where he left his books and a portion of the relics of Paul and Peter; the second church, the House of the Romans, and the third church, Domhnach Arda. And when he had blessed these churches, Nathi, son of Garrchon, lord of that country, came and banished him from that district, and he went to Alba and died there.

As to Patrick, he came to Ireland a year after Paladius, with twenty-four holy clerics, or, according to Henricus Antisiodorensis in the life of St. Germanus, as we read in the 168th chapter, Patrick brought thirty bishops with him to Ireland. Here are the author's

a. Anno quadringentesimo tricesimo Paladius ad Scotos in Christum credentes a Coelestino Papa primus mittitur episcopus.

briathra an ughairi: a “Do éirí Pádraig beannuighe,”  
 ar ré, “ar veaíocht eadtra fáda agus a cnié iméin lúctáir  
 ar a muinntir féin ar oír ‘n-a láthair, agus ar zhuinn-  
 245 iugad tríoíad earraig do hoinead leir féin tar lear, do  
 éirí i bfoíghar an Tighearna iad, ar mbeir don fíoghmar  
 móir i’ don meitil beag.” Ar go i’ iontuighe go  
 utáingadar fúireann phéalaívead lé Pádraig i nÉirinn  
 do fíolaú an éiríomh.

250 Léagtar fóir gan reanúir an tan do bí Pádraig as  
 teacht i nÉirinn, an méir fuaíir do éine Scuic as a maíbe  
 folur an éiríomh, go utug leir i nÉirinn iad, agus do  
 bí foíghuim i’ creiveamh i’ reacht ar coiméad i nÉirinn  
 fead éiríre céad bliadhán o’íir Pádraig do teacht go  
 255 teacht Loclonnac innce. Do bíod fóir aitheas na bualaú  
 i nApo Maíca i’ i gCairéal an tan roin. Adá Henfucur  
 tuar gan 174 ca. as a máú gur joimn Pádraig éirí ioir  
 fonn uine agus rppéir, agus gur bean an veaíomh mír  
 oíob don eaglaíir, mar adá an veaíomh cuir do na daoimib  
 260 don fearann i’ don rppéir; agus do jinne manais do  
 na fearaib i’ cailleadá duba do na mnáib, agus do  
 tógáib mainitreaíad oíob. As go mar doeir an t-ughair  
 céadna as labairt ar an oiruing úo máinir gan veaí-  
 máir: b’ “Do-níod manais do na fearaib uile i’ cailleadá  
 265 duba do na mnáib i’ do tógáib iomao mainitreaíad i’ do  
 oiruing an veaíomh mír don fearann i’ an veaíomh mír  
 don rppéir ré coíugad na oiruinge céadna.”

Doeir fóir an t-ughair céadna go utáinir don oirugad  
 do éirí Pádraig ríor naí maíbe cuil ná ceanna ná fárad  
 270 i nÉirinn naídar lán o’aoí cniádaí i’ do naímaib, ionnur  
 go utáinir óe rin gurab é ainm cinnte do bíod ar Éirinn  
 fead na fíogh oile go coitceann Oiléan na Naomh.  
 Doeir Neinnur, ughair bpeaínaí, i Stair na bpeaían,

a. Benedictus Patricius itinere longo de regione longinqua peracto,  
 praesentia sui suos exhilarabat et triginta episcopos ex trans-  
 marinis partibus congregatos et a se consecratos in Dominicam  
 messem, eo quod esset multa et operarii pauci, destinabat.



words: "Blessed Patrick," says he, "having come a long journey and from a distant country, first gladdened his own people by his presence, and having got together thirty bishops, whom he himself had consecrated beyond the seas, he sent them into the Lord's harvest, for the harvest was great and the labourers few." From this it is to be inferred that a number of prelates came with Patrick to Ireland to plant the Faith.

Moreover, we read in the seanchus that when Patrick was coming to Ireland he brought hither with him as many as he could find of the Scotie race who had received the light of the Faith; and learning and faith and law were maintained in Ireland for four hundred years after the coming of Patrick until the coming hither of the Lochlonnaigh. Besides, silver was struck at Ard Macha and at Cashel at that time. Henricus above says in the 174th chapter that Patrick made an apportionment of Ireland, as to land, people and cattle, and that he set aside a tithe of these for the Church, to wit, a tithe of the people, the land, and the cattle, and made monks of the men and nuns of the women, and built monasteries for them. Thus does the same author speak referring to these people who formed the tithe: "He made monks of all the men and nuns of the women, and he built many monasteries and he set apart a tithe of the land and a tithe of the cattle for their maintenance."

The same author also says that as a result of the regulation laid down by Patrick, there was not a nook or corner or desert in Ireland that was not full of pious persons and of saints, so that it came to pass that the name by which Ireland was distinguished among the nations in general was the Island of Saints. Nennius, a British author, in the History of Britain, speaking of Patrick, uses these

*b. Omnes ergo mares monachos, feminas sanctimoniales, efficiens, numerosa monasteria aedificavit, decimamque portionem terrarum ac pecudum eorum sustentationi assignavit.*

ΔΕ ΛΑΒΑΙΤΕ ΑΡ ΠΑΡΟΛΑΙΣ, ΝΑ ΒΡΙΑΤΗΑ-ΡΟ: α "ΟΟ ΤΟΣΔΑΙΒ,"  
 275 ΑΡ ΓΕ, "355 ΕΑΣΛΑΙΡ, ΟΟ ΗΟΙΡΝΕΑΘ ΛΕΙΡ ΑΝ ΝΥΙΜΗΡ ΕΕΔΟΝΑ,  
 355, ΕΑΡΡΟΣ, ΤΥΣΑΙΒ ΕΕΑΝΑ ΞΗΛΑ ΕΑΣΔΑΙΡΕ ΟΟ ΕΡΙ ΜΙΛΕ  
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 ΥΜ ΕΡΙ ΕΕΔΟΝΑΙΒ ΕΡΥΕΑΡΝΑΙΣ  
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ΟΙΒΕ ΟΟ ΕΥΙΡΕΑΘ Ι Ν-ΙΟΝΣΑΝΤΑΡ ΑΝ ΛΙΟΝ ΕΑΡΡΟΣ-ΡΟ ΟΟ  
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 ΙΝΝΕ.

ΙΡ ΟΕΑΙΒ ΡΟΙΡ Α ΗΑΝΝΑΛΑΙΒ ΕΙΡΕΑΝΝ ΞΟ ΝΟΕΑΡΝΑ ΠΑΡΟΛΑΙΣ  
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α. Ecclesias 355 fundavit, episcopus ordinavit eo numero, 355,  
 presbiteros autem usque ad tria millia ordinavit.

words: "He built," says he, "355 churches, he consecrated the same number, 355, of bishops, and he ordained priests to the number of three thousand." Thus does the seanchus agree with Nennius as to the number of bishops consecrated by Patrick:

Five and fifty learned bishops  
Did the holy man consecrate,  
With three hundred young clerics  
On whom he conferred orders.

Should anyone be surprised at there being so many bishops together in Ireland in the time of Patrick, let him read what St. Bernard says in the life of Malachias of the custom of Ireland regarding her bishops. Thus does he speak: "Bishops are changed and multiplied at the will of the archbishop, so that a single diocese is not content with a single bishop, but they have almost a bishop for each church." From these words of St. Bernard it is to be inferred that it is not strange that so great a number of bishops as we have mentioned should be in Ireland in the time of Patrick, as the Church was then flourishing. The number of bishops we have above mentioned is the less to be wondered at, since we read in old books that there was a bishop in Ireland for every deanery in the country.

Moreover, it is certain from the Irish annals that Patrick made two archbishops in Ireland, to wit, the archbishop of Ard Macha the primate of Ireland, and the archbishop of Cashel; the primate of Ard Macha being over all Ireland and especially over Leath Cuinn, and the archbishop of Cashel directly over Leath Mogha, while the primate had higher authority over him. And the reason of that arrangement was that the supreme sovereignty of Ireland was in the possession of the race of Eireamhon, being in the possession of Laoghair, son of Niall; and Eoghan and

*b. Mutantur et multiplicantur Episcopi pro libitu Metropolitani, ite ut unus episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulae pene ecclesiae singulos habent episcopos.*



an éirio oile v'uaisribh an éirio rin vo gáb bairead ó  
 páorais gan an eaglais ba pinnriopálta ran miosaet  
 vo beir ar a leir féin v'Éirinn, mar atá leat Cuinn, agus  
 310 cupi vo beir aice ar eagailribh Éireann ar lorg an ap-  
 flaitir vo bí 'n-a reilb an tan roin. Siol Éibir, ceana,  
 ruaradar ó páorais an vaira heaglais ba pinnriopálta  
 vo véanadh i leir Moza .i. i gCaireal, vo briú go maibe  
 ceapc aca féin ar leir Moza fá míz Éireann gur an  
 315 ucíad roin ó aimirh Cuinn. Ir córaide ro vo éireveadhain  
 nac ead ahdain aivvearpog Muman gairtear i rean-  
 leabrais ipri ir annálae Éireann v'aivvearpog Cairil,  
 aet fóg go ngairtear aivvearpós leir Moza uile de.

An ní eile iompario aivveirio viong ran aimirh-re go  
 320 maib imleac lobair 'n-a catdoi aivvearpug, ir amlaio ir  
 iontuigte rin go maibe aivvearpog ir eliarh Cairil real  
 ar vibiur a Caireal tne foirneapc loclonnac an tan roin  
 i n-aimirh maolfeaclainn mic Maolruanair vo beir i  
 bflaitear mibe, agus neill Caille 'n-a míz Éireann, agus  
 325 olcobair vo beir i bflaitear Muman, agus Turgeriur an  
 t-anflait loclonnac vo beir ag buairneadh Éireann. Óir  
 nior vótca Forannán priomair Éireann vo tairann a  
 haro Maca lé Turgeriur, gur ba héigean vó teact ar  
 vibiur von Muman, iona aivvearpog Cairil go n-a élair  
 330 vo tairann a Caireal lé loclonnab, agus vul va noivean  
 féin go hmlac lobair, mar a rabadar coillte ir bogac  
 ir móinte an tan roin. Agus vo éaireadar real va  
 n-aimirh ann rin mé linn leactruim loclonnac vo beir  
 opra.

335 Ní faítear linn i n-annálaibh Éireann vo beir i n-Éirinn  
 aet vó aivvearpog, mar atá aivvearpog Aro Maca agus  
 aivvearpog Cairil go haimirh an Cairionál Ioanner



Conall and the other nobles of that race, who were baptized by Patrick, insisted that the principal church in the kingdom should be in their own half of Ireland, to wit, in Leath Cuinn, and that it should have authority over the churches of Ireland after the manner of the supreme sovereignty which was then in their possession. As to the race of Eibhear, they were permitted by Patrick to found the second principal church in Leath Mogha, namely, in Cashel, because to them belonged Leath Mogha under the king of Ireland from the time of Conn up to then. This should with the greater reason be believed from the fact that the archbishop of Cashel is called not only archbishop of Munster, but also archbishop of all Leath Mogha in the old books of chronicles and annals of Ireland.

But as regards another statement made by some writers of the present time that Imleach Iobhair was the seat of an archbishop, it is to be understood in this way: the archbishop and the clergy of Cashel were for a time banished from Cashel in these days, through the oppression of the Lochlonnaigh, when Maoilseachlainn, son of Maolruanaidh, was king of Meath, and Niall Caille king of Ireland, and Olchobhar king of Munster, and while Turgesius the Lochlonnach tyrant was harassing Ireland. For the expulsion of Forannan, primate of Ireland, from Ard Macha by Turgesius, so that he was forced into banishment in Munster, was not a more likely event than that the archbishop of Cashel and his clergy should be driven from Cashel by the Lochlonnaigh, and should betake themselves for refuge to Imleach Iobhair, where there were then woods and bogs and morasses. And there did they spend some of their time while they were subject to the persecution of the Lochlonnaigh.

We find in the annals of Ireland only mention of two archbishops being in Ireland, to wit, the archbishop of Ard Macha and the archbishop of Cashel, down to the time

Páiríon vo teacé i nÉirinn marí don pé Siolla Críort Ó  
 Conairce, earpos leapa Móir, leagáir an pápa i nÉirinn  
 340 an tan roin, an tan fá haoir von Tigearna II52. Óir  
 an bliadain rin vo éruinnigeasair comairle coitcéann as  
 Ceannanur na Miúe, mar ari hoineasú airvearpos i nÁc  
 Cliaé asur airvearpos i oTuaim, mar a bfuairi gac airve-  
 earpos óioð Pallium, amail éurpeam ríor va éir ro a  
 345 hannálaid dopta éireann vo ríoróad i gCluain Eiríneac.

## III.

Ari mbeir vo párpais as ríolaú an éreoirí i nÉirinn  
 i n-aimeiri laogaire, ir é donsur mac nacpaoic fá ri  
 Muían; asur pé triall vo párpais vo feanmóir von  
 Muíain, tis donsur mac nacpaoic céasna i gcoinne  
 350 párpais o'fáilcuigad roime go Maig Feimean i nOéirib  
 tuairceir, ir beirir go ríogóir Cairil é i nEoganaéc pé  
 ráirtear an Trian Meadóac anú; asur vo gab donsur  
 creiream ir bairtead uairí ann. As ro mar aueir rein-  
 beacá párpais vo haitléasac linn as tráctad ari Mall  
 355 éuar: a "Ré mbeir as triall von Muíain vó, tis ri  
 Muían, donsur mac nacpaoic, 'n-a úail go Maig Feimean  
 i oTalam na nOéire ir vo éreoiris go lútgáimeac von  
 ríogéacairi va ngaircear Cairil i gcríó Eoganaéc é, asur  
 ir ann rin vo éreir an ri donsur ir vo gab bairtead."  
 360 Asur ran áit céasna luairtear supab tré bonn donsur  
 vo éur párpais lor a bairle. As ro an ní léasair  
 ann: b "Iar mbeir vo naoí párpais 'n-a fearam as  
 beannaécad an ríog vo ráctad leir rin a naoibairle i  
 goir an ríog." Ar ro ir ioncuigce supab tré coir ríog

*a. Dum vero in Momoniam proficisceretur, venit obviam ei Rex Momoniae, donsur mac nacpaoic in campo feimean in terra na nOéire, eumque duxit gaudens in civitatem regalem nomine Cairil, quae est in regione Eoganaéc, ibique credidit rex donsur et baptisatus est.*



when Cardinal Johannes Papiron came to Ireland together with Giolla Criost O Conairce, bishop of Lios Mor, then the Papal legate in Ireland, in the year of the Lord 1152. For in that year they convened a National Council at Ceanannus na Midhe, in which an archbishop was consecrated for Ath Cliath and an archbishop for Tuam, and where each of the archbishops received a pallium, as we shall hereafter set down from the ancient annals of Ireland which were written at Cluain Eidhneach.

### III.

While Patrick was planting the Faith in Ireland in the time of Laoghaire, Aonghus, son of Natfraoch was king of Munster, and when Patrick proceeded to Munster to preach, this Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, came to Magh Feimhean in the northern Deise to welcome him, and conducted him to the royal residence of Cashel in Eoghanacht, which is now called Middlethird, and there Aonghus accepted faith and baptism from him. Thus speaks an old Life of Patrick which we quoted above in treating of Niall: "As he was going into Munster, Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, king of Munster, came to meet him to Magh Feimhean in the country of the Deise, and joyfully conducted him to the royal seat which is called Cashel in the district of Eoghanacht, and there king Aonghus believed and was baptized." And in the same passage it is stated that it was through the foot of Aonghus that St. Patrick drove the point of his crozier. Here is what we read therein: "As St. Patrick was standing and giving a blessing to the king, he drove the point of his blessed crozier into the king's foot." From this it is to be inferred that it was through the foot of Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, king

*b. Cumque Sanctus Patritius regem stando benedixisset cuspis baculi Sancti fixa est in pede regis*

365 Muíman, donḡur mic nacrraoic, do éuir páorais pinn a  
 baicle, ir nac tré éoir eogaim mic néill ríog ulaó. Tis  
 rai pé reanúr do leic cuinn féin leir an ní éuar ran  
 laoiú oarab torac: buaiú n-eapros ar fuil néibir, .i.  
 torra mac muirir úi maoiléonair. As ro mar aoir:

370

tré bonn donḡuir anba an bpoio,  
 do éuar pinn baicle bpáorais;  
 sur lion an t-uráir na fuil,  
 an gníom ní cómráó coguir.

Do báorai éitir mic ríeao ir éitir hingean ríeao  
 375 as an donḡur-ro, asur do bponn ná mac véas ir ná  
 ingin véas von eaglar víob. Ir é an tdonḡur-ro fór  
 do oruig rreaball baier páorais ar zac neac na  
 ngabaú baiteao ran muíman, .i. trí pinginne; asur ir  
 mar ro ríor do víoltaoi an éain rin, mar acá cúis  
 380 céao bó, cúis céao caoi iarainn ir cúis céao briat,  
 cúis céao léme ir cúis céao caora zac trear bliáuin  
 do éomorba páorais mar éior ó ríogaib muíman; asur do  
 bí an cior roin 'ga víol go haimirí corraic mic cuil-  
 eannáin. Léagtar fór i leabair Ruao mic doúagáin go  
 385 gcleáctao donḡur mac nacrraoic viai eapros ir veic-  
 neabair ragaic ir ná maiccléiréac véas ir trí ríeio do  
 beic mar gnáctmuinntir 'n-a fócáir féin do ríor, pé riáó  
 aipreann ir pé guróe Dé.

Ré linn páorais do beic as ríolaó an éreioim i néirinn  
 390 i n-aimirí laogair, do báorai éitir mic ríeao as brian  
 mac eóac muigmeadóin, asur fá luét comairir do  
 laogair mac néill iao, asur ar mbeic do páorais as  
 beannaóac éireann, téio i gconnaétaib asur triallair i  
 noáil an mic víob roin do ba taoiréac orra, éicen fá  
 395 hainm uó. Mar do connairc an fear roin páorais as  
 teacé 'n-a lácair téio ar a eac asur gabair as a ríacaó,  
 asur aoubair pé a bpaíraib an ní céona do véanaim,  
 asur gan cáuar do éabair von éleiréac; asur do-nío



of Munster, that Patrick drove the point of his crozier, and not through the foot of Eoghan, son of Niall, king of Ulster. Even a learned seancha of Leath Cuinn, to wit, Torna, son of Muiris O Maolconaire, agrees with the above in a poem beginning, "The bishops' blessing on the race of Eibhear." Thus does he speak :

Through the foot of Aonghus, great the discomfort,  
Went the point of Patrick's crozier;  
So that the floor was covered with his blood,  
The deed is no whispered gossip.

This Aonghus had twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters, and of these he gave twelve sons and twelve daughters to the Church. It was this Aonghus also who imposed Patrick's capitation screaball, that is, three pence for each person who should receive baptism in Munster, and this tax was paid in the following manner, to wit, five hundred cows, five hundred balls of iron, five hundred mantles, five hundred inner garments and five hundred sheep to be given every third year to the comhorba of Patrick as rent from the kings of Munster. And this rent was paid up to the time of Cormac, son of Cuileannan. Moreover, we read in the Red Book of Mac Aodhagain that Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, used to keep in constant attendance on himself two bishops and ten priests and seventy-two young clerics for the purpose of saying Masses and of Divine prayer.

When Patrick was planting the Faith in Ireland in the time of Laoghaire, Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmeadhon, had twenty-four sons, who were contemporaries of Laoghaire, son of Niall; and as Patrick was blessing Ireland he went into Connaught and went to meet the son amongst them who was their leader, whose name was Eichen. When this man saw Patrick coming into his presence he mounted his horse and proceeded to lash it, and directed his brothers to do likewise and not to show reverence to the

amhlaidh rin a dt an mac fá hóige úioib, uar b'ainm Duad  
 400 Galad. Anair an fear roin va éoir ir céio i zcoinne  
 páorais ir cuirir fáilte roime ir oo-beir umla ir onóir  
 uó. Leir rin triallair páorais roime zo noeadaid oo  
 ládair Eiden, fá taoiread oiria, ir fíarhuigir ve nar b'é  
 Eiden é. "Ní mé," ar Eiden. "Mará tú," ar páorais,  
 405 "beanaim-fe iad ir níge úioir féin ir von méio uot bráit-  
 rib atá io focairi a dt an t-aonmacaom úioib tug cádar ir  
 onóir uam féin ar fon mo tigeairna." Aduir aubairt an  
 macaom roin uá maó é féin buó ní oiria zo noeadu méir  
 páorais. "Marad," ar páorais, "oo-beirim-fe beann-  
 410 a dt uuit-fe, ir buó ní éura, ir biad an níge agat fiol io  
 úiad;" aduir oo fíoraó fáirtine páorais, óir oo bí páorais  
 ir uá eapros uéas 'n-a focairi ag ríogaó Duad Galais, aduir  
 oo gnáctuigead lé nígtib Connact comorbairt an uá eapros  
 uéas roin ir uá taoiread uéas fiol Muireadais aduir ó  
 415 Maoilcónairt oo beir 'ga ríogaó ó roin i le ar énoc uá  
 ngarimtear Carin fíraoic.

Aoinbliadain uéas ar fíció ar ceitne céao ó zgin  
 Críort zo tigea dt páorais i nÉirinn, an ceatramad  
 bliadain oo flaitear laogairt mic Néill, amail aub-  
 420 namar; aduir bliadain ir trí fíció oo páorais i nÉirinn  
 ful fuair bár; aduir uá zcuirtear an t-áiream roin leir  
 an áiream éur, oo-nio ceitne céao noéao ir uá bliadain;  
 zonoó va uéarhad roin aubair an reanóa an man-ro:

425  
 ó zganair Críort, áiream aic,  
 ceitne céao mé taob nócaic,  
 ir uá bliadain raor iar roin,  
 zo bár páorais ríom-arrtoil.

Léagtar i mbeadaid páorais zupab bliadain ir trí  
 fíció oo bí páorais i nÉirinn iar ucead 'n-a eapros  
 430 innte, ag ríolaó ir ag reanmóir na roircéal, ir ag uéanam

cleric; and they acted accordingly, except the youngest son, whose name was Duach Galach. This man kept on foot, and advanced to meet Patrick and bade him welcome and paid him homage and respect. Upon this Patrick went forward and came into the presence of Eichen, who was their leader, and asked him if he were not Eichen. "I am not," said Eichen. "If thou beest," replied Patrick, "I deprive of success and of sovereignty both thee and as many of thy brothers as are with thee, except the one youth who paid me reverence and honour for my Lord's sake." And that youth said if he were king over them he would do Patrick's bidding. "Then," said Patrick, "I bless thee, and thou shalt be king, and thy seed shall have the kingdom after thee." And Patrick's prophecy came true, for Patrick with twelve bishops attended at the inauguration of Duach Galach as king, and it was the custom with the kings of Connaught ever since to have the comhorbas of these twelve bishops and twelve chiefs of the race of Muireadhach and Ui Maolconaire at their inauguration on the hill called Carn Fraoich.

There were 431 years from the birth of Christ to the coming of Patrick to Ireland in the fourth year of the reign Laoghaire, son of Niall, as we have said; and he was sixty-one years in Ireland up to his death, and if this number be added to the previous number, we get four hundred and ninety-two years; and in testimony of this the seanacha composed this stanza:

Since Christ was born, pleasant reckoning,  
Four hundred and ninety also  
And two full years added thereto  
Till the death of Patrick our chief Apostle.

We read in the life of Patrick that he passed sixty-one years in Ireland after he had come hither as bishop, planting and preaching the gospel and working wonders and



feart ir míorbál do réir mar léagtar i mbeataíó pádrais  
do réir uíosaí u'áiríte. As go mar aoiré:

435

trí fiéir bliádan ir bliádan,  
ir teapic neac ar nac oiaidair.  
i néirinn go n-íomao bfeart  
do bi pádrais as ppoiceart.

Asur cibé aóearaó nac fuil an mann-go i mbeataíó  
pádrais, bíó a fíor aige sur léagáó linn i bprím-  
leabair feanúra sur ríoríobáó 64 beata pádrais, gac don  
440 oíob ar leit nír féin. Asur ir corímaíl sur ríoríob gac  
neac ní nua ar pádrais nacair ríoríob neac oile do éac.  
Uime rin ní cuiríte i n-ionganatar don tí do léig beata  
pádrais as donuáar amáin, da oteagmáó ríeal nó  
míorbál ar pádrais i leabair oile nacair léig ran  
445 beataíó rin.

Ir né linn laogaire tug Dubéac hua luáir ir feargur  
fíle ir Ror mac Tricim feanúr Éireann da fíomáó ir da  
glanaó do pádrais. Asur táinig de rin sur cuiread i  
gceao laogaire comúail coirceann do uéanaim, mar a mbiaó  
450 cruinnuáó níos cléire ir ollamán Éireann né glanaó  
an treanúra; asur iar nóctain ar donláairi úóib uile  
do toáó arta naonbair né glanaó an treanúra, mar  
atáir trí níg, trí hearpur ir trí ollamán né feanúr.  
Na trí níg, laogaire mac Néill ní Éireann, Uáire ní Ulaó,  
455 ir Coric mac Luigéac ní Muíman. An tríúr earpog,  
pádrais, beimén ir Cairneac. Na trí hollamán né fean-  
úr, Dubéac, Feargur ir Ror. Asur do glanaó ir do  
cuiread i n-eagair ir i n-oiruáó an feanúr leir an  
naonbair roin, asur ir de do gairéi an Seanúr Mór.  
460 Atá an uadain uarab corac "Aimhirgin glúingéal" as  
fíomáó an neirte-re. As go fíor na poinn ar an uadain  
gceadna as fuídeam an neirte-re:

465

uáair an tSeanúra mór  
naonbair roir cóirig go cóir,  
naomhíor a ainm caomua cain  
lé fíor naomha an naonbair rain.



miracles, as we read in a Life of Patrick by a certain author. Thus does he speak :

Three score years and one,  
Few there are to whom it is not a mystery,  
In Ireland with many prodigies  
Did Patrick continue to preach.

And should anyone say that this stanza is not in the Life of Patrick, let him know that we have read in an ancient historical record that there were sixty-four Lives of Patrick written, each of them being distinct from the others. And it is likely that each writer wrote something new about Patrick which none of the others had written. Hence, one who has read the life of Patrick by one author, must not deem it strange if he happen on a story or miracle of Patrick in another book which he did not find in that life.

It was in Laoghaire's time that Dubhthach Ua Lughair and Fearghus File and Ros son of Trichim, brought the Seanchus of Ireland to Patrick to be approved and purified by him. And from this it arose that Laoghaire was empowered to call a general assembly in which the kings, clerics, and ollamhs of Ireland should meet for the purpose of purifying the Seanchus. And when they had all come together nine were chosen from among them to purify the Seanchus, to wit, three kings, three bishops, and three ollamhs in seanchus. The three kings were Laoghaire, son of Niall, king of Ireland, Daire, king of Ulster, and Corc, son of Lughaidh, king of Munster. The three bishops were Patrick, Beinen and Cairneach. The three ollamhs in seanchus were Dubhthach, Fearghus and Ros. And these nine men purified and arranged and established the Seanchus, and it was this that was called the Seanchus Mor. The poem which begins "Aimhirgin Gluingheal" confirms this account. Here follow the stanzas from the poem that bear out this account :

The authors of the Seanchus Mor  
Were nine who set it in order rightly,  
Naomhfhios is its fair noble name,  
By reason of the sacred learning of that nine.

páiríais beinén cairneac cain,  
 laoghaine mac néill neartchaidir.  
 feargúr fíle, gáine glan,  
 470 águr uaine ní ulad,

águr ní muthan gan theirg,  
 corc mac luigheac go láimheirg,  
 dubéac ua luğair von linn,  
 saoi an bdearla ror mac trídím.

475 naoi faoiṫe nar faob a rnar,  
 léir niağluigead an seanchar,  
 iar na túr úóib tne gaoir gíl,  
 i nğac aoir ó daimirgin.

## IV.

Iar nglanad iomorpio an cSeancúra mar rin ir ead oo  
 480 horuigead lé huairlib éireann uplamar an cSeancúra  
 oo cur ar coiméad prialáirdeac na héireann; águr tug-  
 adar na prialáirde céadna fá veana a rciobad 'n-a  
 bprímeasailrib féin. Águr atáio cuio oo na reirleabhair  
 ar marṫain ainiú, nó na micleabhair oo rciobad arca, mar  
 485 atá leabair Aru Maca, praltair cailil, leabair glinne  
 vā loč, leabair na hlla Congmāla, leabair cluana mic  
 nōir, leabair fionntain cluana heirneac, leabair buirde  
 moling, ir leabair Dub Molaga, águr prímleabhair  
 éireann ó foim amac, mar ar coiméadad an Seancur gan  
 490 leactrom oo véanadh ar neac reoc a céile u'huairlib  
 éireann.

Oo bíod fōr ruim reancúra na leabair-ro uile i  
 praltair na Teamrac; águr oo-nití fprohad orra gada  
 tnear bliadain i bfeir Teamrac, amail duubhamar tuar  
 495 ag labairt ar flaitear Cormaic. Siúead né linn na  
 págantacra, ir iao ro rior na príom-uğvair oo bí nír an  
 reancur ó daimir go haimir, mar atá daimirgin glúin-  
 geal, Sean mac áige, buirde banuğvar ó ráirtear briaṫra

Patrick, Beinen, noble Carineach,  
Laoghaire, son of Niall the strong,  
Fearghus File, laughter pure,  
And Daire king of Ulster.

And the king of Munster without stain,  
Corc, son of Lughaidh of the red hand,  
Dubhthach Ua Lughair of the lake,  
The professor of language, Ros son of Trichim.

Nine sages, of wise aspect,  
By whom the Seanchus was set in order  
After they had examined it with excellent skill  
Through every generation from Aimhirgin.

#### IV.

Now when the Seanchus had been purified in this way the nobles of Ireland decreed that the charge of it should be entrusted to the prelates of Ireland, and these prelates ordered that it should be copied in their own chief churches. And some of the old books are still extant, or the copies made from them, such as the Book of Ard Macha, the Psalter of Cashel, the Book of Gleann da Loch, the Book of Uí Congmhála, the Book of Cluain Mic Nois, the Book of Fiontan of Cluain Eidhneach, the Yellow Book of Moling and the Black Book of Molaga, and the rest of the chief books of Ireland where the Seanchus was preserved without doing injustice to any one Irish noble as against another.

Moreover, there was a summary of the records in all these books in the Psalter of Tara, and they used to be approved every third year at the Feis of Tara, as we have said above in treating of the reign of Cormac. But in the pagan period the following were the chief authors of the Seanchus from age to age, to wit, Aimhirgin Gluingheal, Sean son of Aighe, Bridhe an authoress, from whom is the expression *Briathra Bridhe* (the sayings of Bridhe).

500 b'riúe, Connla Caoinbmaítrac ríoi Connacht, Seanca mac  
 Cúil Claoim, fáctna a mac roin, Seanca mac Oiliolla,  
 Morann mac Maoim, feargus Fiannaite a c'ic' Clarraíde  
 Luadra, feirceirne file, Néiúe mac Aúna, Aitirne,  
 Amnar, feargus file mac Aitirne, Neaira mac Fionnchúill  
 a Siúdaiú, Seadamar mac Morainn, fearadac Fionn  
 505 fearctnac ríogusdair gaoire Éireann, Fiteal, feargus file,  
 Rof mac Tíuim ír Dubtad mac hlla Luadair, agus ír iad  
 an trídúir uéideanad-ro tug an Seanair vo pádrais va  
 fíomad ír va glanad.

Ré linn iomorro na págántacta vo beir i néirinn,  
 510 ní bíod cion ollamhan ná ugdair ran reanair ar doinnead  
 ré reanair ar a b'ionntaoi clonad reanair vo uéanah  
 doin fearct amáin. Ní bíod fór cion breiteamhan ar an tí  
 vo-beiread clonbiread; vo bíod mar an gcéanna geara  
 ar úruing úiob ré linn na págántacta. Ar uéir an tan  
 515 vo-beiread Sean mac Áige clonbiread vo fáradair  
 boileglair ar a uairgíuair; agus an tan vo-beiread  
 an fíorbiread ní fáradair.

Ní iug Connla Caoinbmaítrac breigbiread maí, óir vo  
 ba uaine iúan fíuonhíuic vo réir foluir na náuúie é.  
 520 Ní beiread Seanca mac Cúil Claoim biread éiríde gan  
 troscad an oirde ma n-a breir. An tan vo-beiread  
 fáctna a mac roin breigbiread, mad i n-aimir an foíghair  
 vo beiread í, vo tuicead meir na tíre a mbíod an oirde  
 rin. Síuad an tan vo-beiread fírbiread vo anad an  
 525 torad go hionlán ar na crannad; nó mad i n-aimir an  
 bláta uó-beiread an breigbiread, vo fáradair na ba a  
 laois gan tír rin. Ní beiread Morann mac Maoim biread  
 gan an iú Morainn um a bráda; agus an tan vo-beiread  
 breigbiread vo teanad an iú um a bráda; agus an tan  
 530 vo-beiread an fírbiread vo fínead an iú tar a suailib  
 amad, amail auidiamar tuar. Mar rin iomorro vo  
 móran u'ugdarad págánta oile, vo bíoir geara oirde va



Connla Caoimbhriathrach a Connaught sage, Seancha son of Cuil Claon, Fachtna his son, Seancha son of Oilill, Morann son of Maon, Fearghus Fiannaithe from the country of Ciarraidhe Luachra, Feircheirtne File, Neidhe son of Adhna, Aithirne, Amhnas, Fearghus File son of Aithirne, Neara son of Fionncholl from Siodha, Seadhamus son of Morann, Fearadach Fionn Feachtnach chief author for skill in Ireland, Fitheal, Fearghus File, Ros son of Trichim, and Dubhthach son of Ua Lughair, and it was this last trio who brought the Seanchus to Patrick to be approved and purified.

Now in Pagan times in Ireland no professor of seanchus could rank as an ollamh or author in seanchus who had been known once to falsify historical truth. Moreover, no one could hold the rank of breitheamh who had given a partial judgment ; and besides some of them were bound by geasa in the Pagan times. First, when Sean, son of Aighe, delivered a partial judgment, blisters grew on his right cheek, and when he delivered a just judgment they did not grow.

Connla Caoimbhriathrach never delivered an unjust judgment, for he was a virtuous truly upright man according to the light of nature ; Seancha son of Cul Claon never gave judgment without having fasted the night before. When Fachtna, his son, delivered an unjust judgment, if it was in the autumn he delivered it, the fruit fell to the ground that night in the country in which he was. But when he delivered a just judgment, the fruit remained in full on the trees ; or if in the spring he delivered an unjust judgment, the cattle forsook their young in that country. Morann son of Maon gave no judgment without having the Morann collar round his neck, and when he gave an unjust judgment the collar grew tight round his neck, and when he gave a just judgment the collar stretched out over his shoulders, as we have said above. And so it was with several Pagan authors, they were subject to geasa, preventing



uoirimeasc ó élaonaó feanóura nó breiteamhair vo  
 véanaí. Ar a voubnamar ir inéireote vo feanúr  
 535 Éireann mar feanúr saáa cpiúe oile, vo bpiú go bfuil  
 ar n-a véarbuáó lé rcpibnib feanuáóar bpááanta ir lé  
 rromáó naoimléire aóur ppéaláveaó eazailre Éireann.

Vo commóráó feir Teamhaó lé laogaire v'aitnuáóó  
 nóir ir peacáa Éireann, amail fá gnát pír na piógaib  
 540 poime vo véanaí i bfeir Teamhaó. An tan iomorro  
 vo coméionólaoir uairle ir ollamain Éireann von com-  
 óáil rin, vo bioó ppiomlongpóit ar leit aó aipoiúg  
 Éireann go n-a fuipinn, mar atá Teac Miodéuarta. Vo  
 bioó fóp ppiomlongpóit aó saó piú cúigeaóó i néipinn,  
 545 mar atá an long Muimneac aó piú Muinan; ionann  
 iomorro long ir teac, amail aveir an file:

ní móire ir voiclióó Donn Cuan  
 vpoicéac 'sa fluaó nó long lán;

aóur ir uaió rin aveirtear longpóit .i. póit na vteac  
 550 pír an mbailé 'n-a mbi áituaó; aóur an long laigneac  
 aó piú laigean, aóur an Cóirir Connaéac aó piú Connaét,  
 aóur an Eacpáir Ulaó aó piú Ulaó. Vo bioir fóp tpi  
 teallaiúe oile i vTeamhaig an tan poín, mar atá Capcáir na  
 nSiall, mar a mbioir géill nó bpaigve an pióó i scoiméao.  
 555 An vapa teac va ngairéi Réalta na bfileaó, mar a mbioir  
 breiteamain ir filioe Éireann pé cumaó cánaó ar an vpuing  
 vo fáruigéaó peacé ir piógaíl na cpiúe. An trear teac  
 va ngairéi Spianán na nIngean, mar a mbioir bainpióga  
 na scúigeaóó, aóur áitpeaó ar leit ran longpóit poín aó  
 560 saó piógaín vob go n-a bantpaét. Siúeaó an tan vo  
 fuiréaó an comóáil uile pé cinneaó ir pé cpiócuáó  
 peacé ir nóir na cpiúe, ir é Teac móir Miodéuarta fá teac  
 coitcéann comáirle vóib.

Aó ro iomorro an fuirúgaó vo bioó oipa ran teac  
 565 poín. Vo fuiréaó pí Éireann féin 'n-a piógaáaoir ar

them from partiality in history or judgment. From what we have said, the Irish records are to be believed like the records of any other country, seeing that they are borne witness to by the writings of old Pagan authors and by their having been approved by the holy clerics and prelates of the Irish Church.

Laoghaire, son of Niall, convened the Feis of Tara to renew the customs and the laws of Ireland, as the kings who went before him were wont to do at that Feis. Now when the nobles and the ollamhs of Ireland came together in that assembly the high king of Ireland and his party had a separate chief residence, to wit, the Teach Miodhchuarta. Each provincial king in Ireland had also a chief residence, to wit, the king of Munster had the Long Mhuimhneach; now *long* means house, as the poet says :

Not more inhospitable is Donn Cuan  
With a bad house for his people than with a full house ;

and hence a village where people dwell is called a longphort, that is, the *port* or embankment of the houses ; and the king of Leinster had the Long Laighneach, and the king of Connaught the Coisir Chonnachtach, and the king of Ulster the Eachrais Uladh. There were besides three other residences at Tara at that time, to wit, Carcair na nGiall, where the hostages or captives of the king were kept. The second was called Realta na bhFileadh, where the brehons and bards of Ireland assembled to fix a tax on those who violated the laws and customs of the country. The third house was called Grianan na nInghean, where the provincial queens dwelt, each of these queens with her female attendants having a separate place in the dwelling. But when the entire assembly sat for the purpose of determining and completing the laws and customs of the country, the great Teach Miodhchuarta was their hall of public debate.

Now they were arranged in that hall in this manner. First the king of Ireland himself sat in his royal chair in

uáir i gceirtheadóin an áruir ir a d'áiríod riar, agus ní  
 muíthan uon leir éar ve, óir roir agus riar uo bádar  
 uá éadon an tige, ní laigean 'n-a fíadnair, ní Connaict  
 ar a cúl, agus ollamhain éireann ar cúlaib níos Connaict;  
 570 agus ní uáir uon leir ádair ué ar a uéarláim, agus  
 fuireann u'fíoruarlaib a cúiríó féin ní hair d'ad níos  
 uíod. As ro uéiruiréad an t'eanáir d'ad cumair ar an  
 fuiríuáir-ro éalllaig éairíad:

575                   Fíor muíthan uon leir ádair,  
                       San ainbfiar san anoiréar.  
                       Agus laigín, lóir uo b'íod,  
                       d'áiríod ar d'áiríod ríad 'n áiríod.

580                   Connaictaig ar cúl an níos,  
                       Né coiréad feanúir d'ad fíor.  
                       Uiríod áruir i maille,  
                       i n-áiríomá áiríod.

585                   Láim uéar níos éairíad éiríod  
                       San ainbfiar san ainféile,  
                       lé oiríalllaib ronna ríad,  
                       San fuigéall san iméaríad.

Ir ar laogairíe tugad Cat áiríod uáir lé laigíní agus  
 lé Cíomhíann mac éanna, mar ar d'ad laogairíe leo, d'ad  
 uéiríod ríad ir éaríod ir uéanna níod i gceiríuáiríod áiríod  
 fá éomáil uóiríod san áiríod na uóiríod oiríod; agus níod  
 590 éomáil ríod uóiríod. Uíod uóiríod na uíod ríod, d'ad  
 ríod uá éiríod uo maríod laogairíe lé ríodíod uéiríod-  
 tige i n'írealllaig uáiríod láim ní líte, áiríod áiríod an  
 ríod:

595                   áiríod laogairíe mac níod,  
                       láim ní líte, gíar a tír.  
                       uóiríod ué áiríod ríod  
                       tugad uáiríod áiríod an ríod.

Agus inéan Taríod, ní ó líteáin, bean laogairíe,  
 máiríod lúigíod mic laogairíe; agus, ní hionann ir



the very middle of the hall facing westwards, with the king of Munster to the south of him, for the ends of the house looked east and west, the king of Lenister opposite to him, and the king of Connaught behind him, and the ollamhs of Ireland behind the king of Connaught, and the king of Ulster to the north of him at his right hand, while each king had a party of real nobles of his own province beside him. Here is a pithy account by the seancha of these rules of precedence observed in the hall of Tara :

The Munstermen on the south side,  
Without falsehood, without injustice ;  
And the Leinstermen, sufficient in strength,  
Face to face with the high king.

The Connaughtmen behind the king,  
To preserve history truly ;  
The under king of Aruidhe near him  
In a special high seat,

On the right of the king of mighty Tara,  
Without falsehood, without churlishness,  
The Oirghialla, a defence were they  
Without overlapping, without strife.

It was against Laoghaire that the Leinstermen and Criomhthann, son of Eanna, fought the Battle of Ath Dara, wherein Laoghaire was made prisoner by them, and he gave the sun and moon and stars as sureties that he would fulfil his promise not to exact the Boraimhe from them ; but he did not fulfil this promise in their regard. However, to avenge this falsehood Laoghaire was soon afterwards killed by a lightning flash at Greallach Dabhail beside the Lithfe, as the poet says :

Laoghaire, son of Niall, died  
Beside Lithfe, green its land,  
The elements of God whose guarantee he had violated  
Inflicted the fate of death on the king.

Anghus, daughter of Tasach, king of Ui Liathain, was Laoghaire's wife and the mother of Lughaidh, son of



600 Laoḡaire, 'oo ḡab rí cneireamh ó páorais. Lá n-aon  
 iomorro na stáinis páorais o'fior na bainríogha, fáil-  
 tiḡir noime aḡur pé n-a coimhcionól cléire, aḡur cuipir  
 biaú na ollmúḡaú úóib, aḡur 'oo ḡab luḡaú mac Laoḡaire,  
 a mac oigeariácta, aḡ ite an bíó leo ḡo haircearacé, ḡo  
 605 oarpla ḡreim 'n-a bpiḡaio léir taátaú é; ḡo bfuair bár  
 'oo láḡair. Beaoḡair an bainríogha, ir cuipir an mac ar  
 comairce páorais. Téio páorais i n-ápur uaigneac aḡur  
 tug fá veapa corp an leinb 'oo bpeit 'n-a focair; ir 'oo  
 ḡearuiḡ féin ar a ḡuiré ḡo Dia, aḡur anair ran nḡnát-  
 610 ḡuiré rin ḡan biaú ḡan coolaú feaú tpi lá, ḡo stáinis  
 i ḡceann an tpear lá micéal Aréainḡeal i ḡerut coluim  
 'n-a láḡair ran ápur 'n-a paise, aḡur beanncáir 'oo páorais  
 aḡur aoubairt ḡur coil pé Dia an leanb o'aitheoúac ar  
 impióe páorais. Leir rin ar mbeit von leanb aḡur a  
 615 úpuim faoi aḡur a béal orluigte téio an tAréainḡeal,  
 'oo bí i ḡerut coluim, ir cuipir a ḡob i mbpiḡaio an leinb,  
 ir 'oo tairpains an ḡreim airté, ḡo stáinis anam 'oo láḡair  
 leir rin ann. Aḡur 'oo láḡair leir rin 'oo éuarú an  
 t-ainḡeal ar ceal uacá, aḡur 'oo épuḡ an leanb luḡaú.  
 620 Aḡur mar 'oo éualaiú an bainríogha an leanb 'oo beit beo  
 tis ḡo lúḡáireac o'fior páorais ir rleáctair ar a ḡlúinib  
 'n-a fiaúnaire, ir ḡabair aḡ bpeit buiḡeacáir pur tpié ait-  
 heoúac a mic. "A banflait," ar pé, "ní puom-ra ir  
 beirte úuit buiḡeacár 'oo mic, acé lé micéal Aréainḡeal  
 625 léir aitheoúac 'oo mac"; aḡur noctair oi éirim an  
 rceoil amail aoubriamair. Mar 'oo éualaiú an bainríogha  
 ḡurab é micéal 'oo pinne an mac o'aitheoúac, 'oo ḡab mar  
 éuinḡ uirre féin caora ar ḡac tpiéio na paise aice 'oo  
 tábairt ḡacá bliáúna aḡur mír ar ḡac ppionn na n-iopaú  
 630 feaú a pé 'oo boctairb Dé i n-onóir mícil Aréainḡeal;  
 aḡur fór 'oo orpuig mar nóir feaú na héireann é, ar ḡac

Laoghaire, and, unlike Laoghaire, she received the faith from Patrick. Now, on a certain day when Patrick went to visit the queen she bade himself and his company of clerics welcome, and ordered food to be prepared for them; and Lughaidh, son of Laoghaire, her son and heir, set to eating the meal with them greedily, and a portion stuck in his throat which choked him, and he died on the spot. The queen gave a start, and committed the youth to Patrick's protection. Patrick went into an unoccupied house and ordered the child's body to be brought to him, and prayed to God with fervour, and continued thus in constant prayer without food or sleep for three days, and at the close of the third day Michael the Archangel, in the form of a dove, appeared before him in the house in which he was, and he greeted Patrick and said it was God's will that the child be brought back to life through Patrick's intercession. Upon this, as the child lay on his back with his mouth open, the Archangel, who was in the form of a dove, went and put his bill into the child's throat and took out the morsel, and thereupon life came to him at once. And immediately on this the angel became invisible to them, and the child Lughaidh arose. And when the queen heard that the child was alive, she came joyfully to meet Patrick and cast herself on her knees before him, and proceeded to thank him for bringing her son back to life. "O princess," answered he, "it is not I whom thou shouldst thank for thy son, but Michael the Archangel, by whom he was brought back to life." And he told her the story in substance as we have given it. When the queen heard that it was Michael the Archangel who brought back her son to life, she bound herself to give a sheep out of every flock she possessed each year and a portion of every meal she should take during her life to the poor of God in honour of Michael the Archangel; and, moreover, she enjoined this as a custom throughout Ireland on all who received baptism



noisuing uair gáb bairtcead i' cmeiveamh ó páorais; zonan  
uair rin atá gnáthuad caorac na féile Míeil agur na  
míre Míeil i nÉirinn ó foin.

- 635 Do gáb Oilill Molt mac Uáiti mic Fiacrae mic Eocad  
Muigmeadóin vo fíol Éireamhóin niozact Éireann fíce  
bliaðan. Uicétealb ingean Dongura mic Natrmaic bea  
Oilolla Muilt, agur i' uime vo gairéi Oilill Molt ve, .i.  
mian feola muilt vo bi ar a mádaí Eíene ingin Oiae ar  
640 mbeiré corrae ar Oilill oi, agur tug bea uaral vo bi 'n-a  
foeáir, uair b'ainm Fial ingean Eocae Séiró, Oilill Molt  
marí forainm air iar 'n-a bpeir. I' i bflaitear Oilolla  
fuarí amálguir mac Fiacrae mic Eocae Muigmeadóin vo  
bi 'n-a níg Connaet fíce bliaðan bár agur fuair Muir-  
645 eadac Muinneapz mac Fearzua mic Ualláin mic Dubéaiz  
mic Mianai mic Luigéae mic Dongura Finn mic Fearzua  
Dubéaeadaiz mic loméada mic Fionnéada mic Ogamail mic  
Fiataiz Finn a quo Uál bfiatae vo bi 'n-a níg Ulae vā  
bliaðain vaez bár.

## V.

- 650 Do pinnead Feir Teamrae lé hOilill Molt. Trí com-  
hála coitceanna iomorro vo bioe i nÉirinn i n-alló mar  
atá Feir Teamrae, Feir Eamha, agur Feir Cpuacān. Do  
éuireamar ríor mome ro na neite vo luairéi i bFeir Team-  
rae. Anoiz ceana i' é adbarí cuinnigíte i' mó vo bioe ag  
655 Feir Eamha agur ag Feir Cpuacān pé ppoiae vo véanae  
ar luét uaoirceapó i nÉirinn, marí atá an oisong vo bioe pé  
gairneact nó pé ceapraet nó pé raopraet nó pé n-a  
raimail oile vo uaoirceapraib. Agur vo toztaoi leir na  
huairlib i' leir na hollamhaib vo bioe ran vā comháil rin  
660 trí fíeio raoi nír gae ceipó ar gae comháil vóib, i' vo  
poinneci fá Éirinn va éir rin iao; agur ní lámad fear  
comceipoe vóib feirom na ceipoe rin vo véanae gan ceao

and the Faith from Patrick, whence is the custom of the Michaelmas sheep and the Michael's portion in Ireland ever since.

Oilill Molt, son of Dathi, son of Fiachraidh, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhon, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty years. Uichtdhealbh, daughter of Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, was the wife of Oilill Molt, and he was called Oilill Molt because of a craving for wether's flesh that his mother Eithne, daughter of Oraidh, felt when she was pregnant with Oilill; and a lady who was with her named Fial, daughter of Eochaidh Seideadh, called him by the name of Oilill Molt after he was born. It was in the reign of Oilill that Amhalghuidh, son of Fiachraidh, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhon, who was king of Connaught twenty years, died, and there died also Muireadhach Muindearg, son of Feargna, son of Dallan, son of Dubhthach, son of Mianach, son of Lughaidh, son of Aonghus Fionn, son of Fearghus Duibhdheadach, son of Iomchaidh, son of Fionnchaidh, son of Oghamhal, son of Fiatach Fionn, a quo Dal bhFiatach, who was twelve years king of Ulster.

## V.

Oilill Molt convened the Feis of Tara. There used to be three general assemblies in Ireland in the olden time, to wit, the Feis of Tara, the Feis of Eamhain, and the Feis of Cruachain. We have set down above the things that were treated of at the Feis of Tara. Now the chief object for which the Feis of Eamhain and the Feis of Cruachain were convened was to approve those who practised mechanical crafts in Ireland, such as smithwork, woodwork or stonework and the like handicrafts. And the nobles and ollamhs who were at these two assemblies selected from each assembly three score masters of each craft, and these were then distributed throughout Ireland, and no fellowcraftsman to these was permitted to practise



don traon nár an gceirto rin do bíod san tír, go bfuomáod  
an traon an mbíod clirte ní véanam na ceirtoe. Agus do  
665 gairtí iolbánaig do na raotib-íe. Ionann iomorro iol-  
vónac ír ilcearoad, do bñig supab ionann vón ír  
ceirto.

Ír ar Oilill Molt do-beir an leabhar ímí ní na Scot.  
Ír ní n-a linn fuair benignur comorba párapais bár. Ír  
670 ar Oilill mar an gcéona tugad Cat Duhaa aicir lé  
laighnib, áit ar éuit iomad do vóainib va gac leir. Ír fán  
am-ro do bí cogad iomí Ambrogiur ní bneatan agus Pictí  
ír Scotí. Ír í bflaitear Oililla fóp fuair Conall  
Créamtainne bár, agus íarlaité an tnear earpog í nár  
675 Maéa í noiaíó párapais. Simpliur fá pápa an tan roin.  
Ír ar Oilill Molt ní éipeann tugad Cat Oéa lé lúgarí  
mac laogairíe ír lé Muircearac mac Earca ír lé  
Feargus Ceiribeoil mac Conaill Créamtainne ír lé  
Fiacarí Lonm mac Caolbairí ní Dál náruióe, amail doeir  
680 an file:

Lé lúgarí ír lé Fiacarí Lonm,  
ír lé Muircearac mópoll,  
agus lé Feargus san loét,  
do marbad Oilill raop-molt.

685 Fíce bliadain í noiaíó an éata roin do éur do éuadair  
feiréar mac Eirc mic Eoac Muirceamair í nÁlbain, mar  
atá vó Dongur vó Loóairn agus vó Feargus. Trí céad ír  
reáct mbliadna ó aimrír Concubair mic Neara go haimrír  
Cormaic mic Airt. Vó céad ír ceitíre bliadna ó aimrír  
690 Cormaic go vtugad Cat Oéa. Agus fíce bliadán va éir  
rin do éuadair clanna Eirc mic Eoac Muirceamair í  
nÁlbain. Duac Teangumha mac Feargusa mic Muirceadais  
máil mic Eogain Speib mic Duac Galais mic brian mic

his craft without permission from the master of that craft who was in that district; and the master must examine whether he be competent to practise the craft. And these masters were called *ioldanaigh*; now *ioldanach* means *iolcheardach*, or skilled in many crafts, for *dan* means *ceard* or craft.

The Leabhar Irsi calls Oilill Molt the king of the Scots. It was in his time that Benignus, the comhorba of Patrick, died. It was also against Oilill that the Leinstermen fought the Battle of Dumha Aichir, where many fell on both sides. It was about this time that a war was waged between Ambrosius, king of Britain, and the Picts and Scots. It was also in the reign of Oilill that Conall Creamhthainne died, and Iarlaithe the third bishop of Ard Macha after Patrick. Simplicius was Pope at that time. It was against Oilill Molt, king of Ireland, that the Battle of Ocha was fought by Lughaidh, son of Laoghair, and by Muircheartach, son of Earc, and by Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, son of Conall Creamhthainne, and by Fiachaidh Lonn, son of Caolbhadh, king of Dal nAruidhe, as the poet says :

By Lughaidh and by Fiachaidh Lonn,  
And by the great Muircheartach  
And by blameless Fearghus,  
Was the noble Oilill Molt slain.

Twenty years after this battle was fought the six sons of Earc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, went to Alba, to wit, two Aonghuses, two Lodharns, and two Fearghuses. Three hundred and seven years are reckoned from the time of Conchubhar, son of Neasa, to the time of Cormac, son of Art; two hundred and four years from the time of Cormac till the Battle of Ocha was fought; and twenty years after that the sons of Earc, son of Eochaidh Muinreamhar, went to Alba. Duach Teangumha, son of Fearghus, son of Muireadhach Mal, son of Eoghan Sreibh, son of Duach Galach, son of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmeadhon,

Eoócac Mhuigheadóin fá ní Connacé reacé mbliadna an tan  
 685 roin gur tuic lé heoócacé Tioiméaína.

Do gab luğacé mac laogáire mic néill naoigiallaig  
 oo fiol éireamóin pioğacé éireann ríce bliadain. Anğur  
 ingean Tarraig oo Uib liacáin mácair luğacé. Ir é fpaóc  
 mac fionncáda fá ní laigean an tan roin. Ir fán am-ro  
 700 tugacé Cat Ceall Ornacé i Maig fea i gConnacae Ceitear-  
 lacé, ceitpe míle ó leitğlinn roir, mar ar tuic Dongur  
 mac nacfpaocé oo bi'n-a níg Muíhan ré bliadna véas ar  
 ríció, ağur eitne uacac ingean émuóméainn mic éanna  
 éinnrealaig a bean mar don nír lé Muircearacé mac  
 705 Earca ir lé hoilill mac Dúnluing; gonacó uime rin aoir  
 an file an rann-ro:

acbat cpaobóc bile móir  
 aongur molbécac mac nacfpaocé  
 rágbaró lá hoilill a rae  
 i gcat ceall Ornacé claoir.

710

Da éir rin fuair fpaóc mac fionncáda a marbacé i  
 gCat gpaíne lé heoócacé mac Cairbhe. Felix an tpear  
 pápa von ainm rin, an veacmáó bliadain oo flaitear  
 luigheacé mic laogáire oo rinneacé pápa vé. Ir fán am-  
 715 ro tugacé cat Sleaima Míde lé Cairbhe mac néill ar  
 laigrib, ağur tugacé Cat Seagra, mar ar marbacé Duacé  
 Teanguma ní Connacé lé Muircearacé mac Earca, amail  
 aoir an file an rann-ro:

Cat Dealgá, Cat mícnoíma,  
 ağur Cat tuama Orubá,  
 ağur fóc Cat na Seagra,  
 a uoréair Duacé Teanguma.

720

Ir fán am-ro tugacé Cat loómáige lé laigrib ar Uib  
 néill, áit ar tuic iomaó oo dáoinib ann; ağur oo éuacé  
 725 fearğur Mói mac Earca i nálbain mar don ré Dál Riada  
 ağur oo gabuair flaitear innce. An naoíacé bliadain  
 véas oo flaitear luigheacé mic laogáire fuair pápaig



was king of Connaught seven years at this time, and he fell by Eochaidh Tiormcharna.

Lughaidh, son of Laoghaire, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty years. Anghus, daughter of Tasach of Ui Liathain, was the mother of Lughaidh. The king of Leinster at that time was Fraoch, son of Fionnchaidh. About this time took place the Battle of Ceall Osnadh in Magh Fea in the county of Ceithearlach, four miles east of Leithghlinn, where Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, who was king of Munster thirty-six years, and Eithne Uathach, daughter of Criomhthann, son of Eanna Cennsealach, his wife, both fell by Muircheartach, son of Earc, and by Oilill, son of Dunluing; hence the poet composed this stanza:

There died the spreading branch of a great tree,  
Aonghus Molbhthach, son of Natfraoch;  
He lost his success by Oilill  
In the Battle of Ceall Osnadh the vile.

After this, Fraoch, son of Fionnchaidh, was slain in the Battle of Graine by Eochaidh, son of Cairbre. Felix the third Pope of that name, it was in the tenth year of the reign of Lughaidh, son of Laoghaire, that he was made Pope. It was about this time that the Battle of Sleamhain Mhidhe was won by Cairbre, son of Niall, over the Leinstermen, and the Battle of Seaghais was fought, in which Duach Teangumha, king of Connaught, was slain by Muircheartach, son of Earc, as the poet says in this stanza:

The Battle of Dealga, the Battle of Muchromha,  
And the Battle of Tuaim Drubha,  
And also the Battle of Seaghais,  
In which fell Duach Teangumha.

It was about this time that the Leinstermen won the Battle of Lochmhagh over Ui Neill, in which fell many people, and Fearghus Mor, son of Earc, went to Alba with the Dal Riada and they assumed sovereignty there. It was in the nineteenth year of the reign of Lughaidh, son of Laoghaire,



bár, iar gcaiteam ná bliádain i r fé fícto ar an raogal-ro,  
amail aubhamar tuar. Da éir rin fuair luáir mac  
730 Laoisairie bár i nácaó fapca lé caoir teinntige vo tuit ó  
neam air tpe míreir páorais vo úeanaí vo. An bliádain  
véreanaó vo flaitear luigúeac vo bi Zelariur 'n-a pápa.

Vo gab Muircearicac mac Earca mic Muirceadais mic  
Eogain mic Néill naoigiallais vo fiol Éireamóin pioḡacé  
735 Éireann ceitpe bliáda ar fícto. Earc ingean loúairin ní  
Alban mátair Muircearicais mic Earca; asur i r i otopac  
a flaitir iugac Ciapán mac an tSaoir vo bi vo flioct  
Cuiric mic Feargura mic Róig. An ceatramac bliádain vo  
flaitear Muircearicais vo iunneac pápa vo Anartariur  
740 an vora pápa von ainm rin. I r fán am-ro iugac an naom  
Comgall beanncair, an t-abb naomta, an tí as a iabavap  
ná fícto mile manac fá n-a óigreir nó fá n-a rmacé, amail  
leáḡtar i leabap Ruac Mic Aodasáin; asur i r cópavpe ro  
vo éreireamain so leáḡtar as uḡvap bapántamail .i. as  
745 S. beapavro i mbeata málaciar so vótámis veirciobal  
vap b'ainm Soanur ón abb Comgall léi tó-baó céav  
mainitir; asur i r ar flioct íuail mic Conaill Céapais  
mic Aímurigin vo élanaió Ruóruige acá an Comgall-ro.  
As ro mar avoir an vuvain naomíreancair va úeapbaó  
750 rin:

Comgall beanncair mac Séavna,  
ar nap ceit vathan éaga,  
rreám ulaó ar nac rpiot fail  
vo fiol íuail mic Conaill.

755 I r fán am-ro fuair Anartariur impir bár asur Caimneac  
Déaíó bó, an naom; asur i r vo flioct Feargura mic Róig  
an naom-ro; asur iugac Colum Cille mac Feiólímíó mic  
Feargura mic Conaill Gulban mic Néill naoigiallais. I r  
fán am-ro fuair Buiḡio (ingean Dubéais mic Oireimne mic  
760 Bpeapail mic Déin mic Connla mic Airt mic Cairbrie Níac  
mic Cormaic mic Aongura míoir mic Eocac Finn Fuac

that Patrick died, having passed six score and two years in this life, as we have said above. After this Lughaidh, son of Laoghaire, died in Achadh Fharcha, from lightning which fell from heaven on him for disobeying Patrick. Gelasius was Pope the last year of the reign of Lughaidh.

Muircheartach, son of Earc, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty-four years. Earc, daughter of Lodharn king of Alba, was the mother of Muircheartach, son of Earc, and it was in the beginning of his reign that Ciaran mac-an-tSaoir, who was of the race of Corc, son of Fearghus, son of Rogh, was born. The fourth year of the reign of Muircheartach Anastasius the second Pope of that name was made Pope. About this time was born St. Comhghall of Beannchair, the holy abbot, a man who had forty thousand monks under his obedience or under his authority, as we read in the Red Book of Mac Aodhagan; and this is the more to be believed because we read in an author of repute, namely, St. Bernard, in the Life of Malachias, that there was a disciple of the abbot Comhghall called Soanus, who built a hundred monasteries; and this Comhghall is of the race of Irial, son of Conall Cearnach, son of Aimhirgin, of clanna Rudhruighe. In testimony of this, the poem on saint-history speaks thus:

Comhghall of Beannchair, son of Seadna,  
Whom fear of death troubled not,  
Was of Uladh's stock, who were not caught napping,  
Of the race of Irial, son of Conall.

It was about this time that the emperor Anastasius died, and Cainneach of Achadh Bo, the saint, and this saint was of the race of Fearghus, son of Rogh; and Columcille, son of Feidhlimidh, son of Fearghus, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, was born. It was about this time that Brighid, daughter of Dubhthach, son of Dreimhne, son of Breasal, son of Dian, son of Connla, son of Art, son of Cairbre Nia, son of Cormac, son of Aonghus Mor, son of



[illegible]

770

mīrīn arāin eorua āin,  
 ī ī mo ēuro-re von ēlār;  
 ʒar biopair ī uirce te,  
 ī ī mo ēuro ʒac n-orōče.

## VI.

An 'reiread bliadain do flaitear Muirceartaigh mic  
 775 Earca do pinnead pápa do Simmachur agus do bí 'n-a  
 pápa cúig bliadna déag agus oót mí; agus an t-aonmáid  
 bliadain ar fícto do flaitear an Muirceartaigh céadna  
 do pinnead pápa do Horimiro agus do bí 'n-a pápa naoi  
 mbliadna. Is fán am-ro do rriocht go míorbhailead naoim-  
 780 hóirp Antoniuir manad agus rugad go hAlexandoria é agus  
 do cummúigead i nEaglais Eoin bairte é. Tug Muir-  
 ceartaic mac Earca na cead-ro ríor i n-aonbliadain do  
 néiri mar aoeir an ríle fán giann-ro:

785

Cat Cinn Eic, Cat Almaine,  
 Lé haimfir oirdeirc ámpa,  
 Orgain éliac, Cat Eiblinne,  
 Agur Cat Maige Ailbe.

30 3100 ὅτι· να ἤσας-το το ἔσπ, φασιν Μυρκαριταὶς βάρ  
 1 1015 Cleitiz; 4500 φασιν Διβε Ιμλις βάρ.

790

Do gab Tuatal Maol Garb mac Cormaic Cáoic mic  
Cainbne mic Néill naoigiallaig do íol Éireamóin níos-  
áct Éireann trí bliadhna déag. Is uime geartear Tuatal  
Maol Garb de, Comáin inígean Daill bhronaig a máear.

Eochaidh Fionn Fuath nAirt, son of Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar, son of Tuathal Teachmhar, of the race of Eireamhon, died, at the age of eighty-seven years, or, according to others, at the age of seventy years. Now Brighid is the equivalent to *Breo-shaighead*, that is, an arrow of fire; and she is not inaptly so called, for she was as a fire lighting with the love of God, ever darting her petitions towards God. And according to the Feilire, it was she who composed this stanza :

A morsel of fair barley bread,  
This is my part of the table.  
A cress-stalk and hot water  
Is my portion each night.

## VI.

The sixth year of the reign of Muircheartach, son of Earc, Symmachus was made Pope, and he was Pope for fifteen years and eight months; and the thirty-first year of the reign of Muircheartach, Hormisdas was made Pope, and he was nine years Pope. It was about this time that the holy body of the monk Antonius was miraculously discovered, and it was taken to Alexandria, and it was enshrined in the church of John the Baptist. Muircheartach, son of Earc, fought the following battles in one year according to what the poet says in this stanza :

The Battle of Ceann Eich, the Battle of Almhain,  
In a famous glorious time;  
The Plunder of Clu, the Battle of Eibhlinn,  
And the Battle of Magh Ailbhe.

Soon after having fought these battles Muircheartach died in the house of Cleiteach; and Ailbhe of Imleach died.

Tuathal Maol Garbh, son of Cormac Caoch, son of Cairbre, son of Niall Naoighnallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland thirteen years. He is called Tuathal Maol Garbh, for Comain, daughter of Dall Bronach, was his mother, and when she gave birth to



agus an tan rugaó Tuátal lé, do buail a céann ar éloic  
 795 mar ghearaibh as tuar ionair uó, go nveapna an éloic clais  
 'n-a céann, agus ní fáraó ghuas ran gclais rin; gonaó  
 ve rin tugao Tuátal maol garb air.

1r i bflaitear Tuátail fuair moctaeur veirciobal  
 páorais báp, agus do mair pé trí céad bliadhán; agus do  
 800 rugaó baotín valta Colum Cille; agus clann an veire  
 vearbhrátar baotín agus Colum Cille, agus fuair Com-  
 gall ní Alban báp, agus fuair Moibí na ngairí beapán  
 na fáirtine do fliocht fíadaó díceadú mic Caeaoirí Mór  
 báp. 1r i bflaitear Tuátail fór rugaó Cat Torcan lé  
 805 laigribh, áit ar marbaó Eapic mac Oiliolla Muilc; agus ir  
 uairé rin cángadair Fír Céara. 1r fán am-ro rugaó Cat  
 Sligíge lé feargur ir lé Domnall, dá mac Muirceartaig  
 mic Eapic, mar ar éuit Eogan béal do bí 'n-a níg Connaet  
 cúig bliadhna déas ar fícto leo; agus fuair Odrán naomh  
 810 leatpáige, do fliocht Conaire mic Moza Láma, báp, agus  
 Ciapán mac an tSaoir i n-doir a doibhliadhna déas ar  
 fícto, agus béoar fá hainm na ádair agus Dáirearica  
 ainm a mátar, ámáil aveir pé féin ran iann-ro:

815 Dáirearica mo mátar-ge,  
 níor do bancaíl boet,  
 béoar an saor fór m'ádar-ge,  
 ó laearnaibh moit.

1r fán am-ro do éuit a céann o'Abacuc i n-donac  
 Tailtean tré Láimh Ciapáin do ábairt i n-éitead; agus do  
 820 mair pé ceitre bliadhna mar rin gan céann ioir na  
 mancaibh. Da éir rin do marbaó Tuátal Maol Garb ní  
 éireann lé Maol Mór mac mátar do Óiarmair mac  
 feargura Ceiribeoil i nSpreallais Eilte.

1r i bflaitear Tuátail fór do gab Suair mac Colmáin  
 825 ceannar Connaet i noiaré Eogain béal; agus tarla an  
 trát roin an mac fá rine as Eogan 'n-a valta fogluma as  
 Ciapán ar tí beic 'n-a manac. Ceallac fá hainm do, agus

Tuathal she struck his head against a stone as a ceremony foreboding success for him, and the stone made a hollow in his head, and no hair grew in that hollow ; hence he was called Tuathal Maol Garbh.

It was in the reign of Tuathal that Moctaeus, disciple of Patrick, died, and he had lived three hundred years ; and Baoithin, disciple of Columcille, was born ; and Baoithin and Columcille were the children of brothers ; and Comhghall, king of Alba, died, and Mobhi, who is called Bearchan of Prophecy, of the race of Fiachaidh Aiceadha, son of Cathaoir Mor, died. It was also in the reign of Tuathal that the Leinstermen fought the Battle of Tortan, where Earc, son of Oilill Molt, was slain, and from him the Fir Cheara sprang. It was about this time that the Battle of Sligeach was fought by Fearghus and by Domhnall, two sons of Muirheartach, son of Earc, where they slew Eoghan Beal, who was king of Connaught thirty-five years ; and Odhran, the saint of Leathrach, of the race of Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, died, and Ciaran mac-an-tSaoir at the age of thirty-one years died ; and Beoaidh was his father's name, and his mother's name was Dairearca, as he himself says in this stanza :

Dairearca was my mother,  
No poor female slave was she ;  
Also Beoaidh, the artificer, was my father,  
From Latharna Molt.

It was about this time that his head fell off Abacuc at the fair of Taillte, for having sworn falsely by the hand of Ciaran ; and he lived thus headless four years amongst the monks. After that Tuathal Maol Garbh, king of Ireland, was slain by Maol Mor, uterine brother to Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, in Greallach Eilte.

It was also in the reign of Tuathal that Guaire, son of Colman, became sovereign of Connaught in succession to Eoghan Beal ; and at that time the eldest son of Eoghan was a pupil under Ciaran with a view to becoming a monk ;



bhéasgear lé caraid Eoghan a coimhcionól Ċiarán é mé  
 ceannar feadh na vo véanamh orra féin i n-aghaid Ģuairpe.  
 830 Ģiúeas ar uciġeasť amac vo Ćeallac, eus Ćiarán a  
 mallacť uó, ir iarrair ar Ůia bár foiréigheasť va breit.  
 Ar mbeit iomorro fealas mar rin uó, vo eus ġurab olc  
 vo rinne míreir Ćiarán vo véanamh. Agus céio v'fior  
 an naoim Ćiarán agus ciontuigir é féin uó, agus ġeallair  
 835 ġo n-aghaid ar a toil fead a mé. Tus Ćiarán a beannaťť  
 uó; Ģiúeasť aubairt ġurab bár foiréigheasť vo-béarad é.  
 Anair Ćeallac ran cóimhcionól ó ġoin amac, ġo nveairad i  
 ġcionn aimirpe earposť ve, agus ar mbeit 'n-a earposť ran  
 tír uó, vo bí ag véanamh ġannťa agus caraid vo véarbhraťair  
 840 řá hóige ioná é féin, i noóig ġo ġoirfead leir ġioġacťť  
 Ćonnaťť vo buain amacťť uó; agus ar a elor ġoin vo Ģuairpe  
 ollmuisťgear leir trír vo ġuinnťir ūilir Ćeallaisťť féin;  
 ġur marbad leo é; ġonad mar rin vo řiorad an tuar vo  
 rinne Ćiarán uó, mar vo Ćairġigir ġurab bár foiréigheasťť  
 845 vo-ġeabhad Ćeallac.

Vo ġab Ůiarmaid mac řearġura Ćeirġbeoil mic  
 Conaill Ćréamťainne mic Néill Naoigiallaisťť vo řiol  
 éireamóin ġioġacťť éireann uá bliađain ir řice. Ćorbadťť  
 inġean Máine bean vo laigġib máčair Ůiarmaid mac  
 850 řearġura. Ir i bflaťgear an ġiġ-ře řuair Tġearnadťť  
 earposť Ćluana Eoir, vo řlioťť Ůáipe Ģarġaisťť mic  
 Ćaťaoir Móir, bár, agus Oilill mac Muirpeadaisťť vo bí  
 'n-a ġiġ laigean naoi mbliadna. Agus vo bí Ćormac mac  
 Oiliolla mic Eoťac mic Ůáipe Ćearb mic Oiliolla řlann  
 855 bġ 'n-a ġiġ Muňan.

Ir řan am-řo tuġad Ćať Ćúile Conaife i ġĆeara lé  
 řearġur ir lé Ůomnall uá mac Ģic Earca, ať ar marbadťť  
 Oilill Anđann ři Ćonnaťťť ir a bġaťair Aoť řorťamail;  
 agus ir i bflaťgear an Ůiarmaid-řo tarla pláig i néirinn

his name was Ceallach, and Eoghan's friends enticed him to quit Ciaran's community that he might be their leader in opposition to Guaire. But on Ceallach's going out, Ciaran cursed him and besought God that he might be carried off by a violent death. Now, when he had been for some time outside, he considered that he had acted amiss in disobeying Ciaran, and he paid Ciaran a visit and acknowledged his guilt to him, and promised that he would do his will during his life. Ciaran gave him his blessing, but said that a violent death would carry him off. Ceallach remained in the community thenceforwards, and was in course of time made bishop; and while he was in the district as bishop he was making partisans and friends for a brother who was younger than himself, with a view to his obtaining the sovereignty of Connaught; and when Guaire heard this he suborned three of Ceallach's own friends who slew him, and thus the prophecy which Ciaran had made for him was fulfilled, for he had foretold that Ceallach would meet a violent death.

Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, son of Conall Creamhthainne, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty-two years. Corbach, daughter of Maine, a Leinsterwoman, was the mother of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus. It was in the reign of this king that Tighearnach, bishop of Cluain Eoais, of the race of Daire Barrach, son of Cathaoir Mor, and Oilill, son of Muireadhach, who was nine years king of Leinster, died. And Cormac, son of Oilill, son of Eochaidh, son of Daire Cearb, son of Oilill Flann Beag, was king of Munster.

It was about this time that Fearghus and Domhnall, two sons of Mac Earc, fought the Battle of Cuil Chonaire, where Oilill Anbhann, king of Connacht, and his brother, Aodh Fortamhail, were slain; and it was in the reign of this Diarmaid that a plague came on Ireland, which was



860 DA NGAIRTÍ AN ÉNOM CONAILL, IR DO ÉAGADAR IOMAO DO  
 NAOMHAIÐ MIA, IR SO HÁIRTE MAC TÁIL CILLE CUILINN. IR  
 FÁN AM-RO TUGAÐ CAT CÚILE, ÁIT AR TUITEADAR IOMAO DO  
 LUÉT CORCAIGE TRÉ SUÍDE MÍDE .i. BANNAOMH UAFAL DO FLIOÉT  
 FÍACÁC SUIGÓE MIC FEOLIMÍO REACÉTHAIR DA OTUGADAR AN  
 865 OPEAM ROIN MIOCÁDAR.

IR FÁN AM-RO FUAIR EOCÁIO MAC CONNLO MIC CAOLBAIG  
 MIC CRUINN DAÓRAOI MIC EOCÁC COBA MIC LUIGÓEAC MIC  
 ROPPA MIC IOMCÁDÁ MIC FEOLIMÍO MIC CAIR MIC FÍACÁC  
 APUIÓE DO BÍ 'N-A NÍG ULAD DÁ BLIADAIN AR FÍEIO BÁR, AGUR  
 870 DO B'É CÉIOPI DÁL NAPIÓE É. AGUR FUAIR CORMAC MAC  
 OILIOLLA NÍ LAIGEAN BÁR AGUR BEAG MAC DÉ AN FÁIO; AGUR  
 NUGAÐ MOLUA NAOMÉA MAC SINILL MIC AITHIRGIN MIC ÉIRNÍN  
 MIC DUAC MIC BUIAIN MIC EOCÁC MOGA; AGUR FUAIR CATFUIO  
 EAPPOG ACÁO CUINNIPE BÁR IR AN NAOMH NEARÁN LOBAR; IR  
 875 DO ÉÓGAIÐ BPIÉANAINN NAOMÉA DO FLIOÉT CÉIR MIC FEAPGURA  
 EAGLAIR CLUANA FEAPCA; AGUR FUAIR GABRIÁN NÍ ALBAN  
 BÁR; AGUR TUG SUIGE MAC MAOLÉON NÍ CRUITNEAC MAIOM  
 IR PUAG AR ALBANCAIB.

IR FÁN AM-RO TUGAÐ CAT CÚILE OPEIMNE LÉ FEAPGUR IR  
 880 LÉ DOHNALL DÁ MAC MUIPCAPTAIG MIC EAPCA AR OIARMAIO  
 MAC FEAPGURA, GUR CUIPEAD I MAON MAOMA É FÉIN IR GUR  
 MARBÁD UPHÓR A MUINNCTIPE TRÉ SUÍDE COLUIM CILLE. OIR  
 DO MARB FEIFEAN, TAP COMAIRICE COLUIM, CUARNÁN MAC DOODA  
 MIC EOCÁC TIOIMCÁRNA, IR DO OIOGAIL DIA FIN AIR FÁN  
 885 CAT-RO. DO BUIPEAD CAT CÚILE UINNFEANN I OTEACBA AR  
 OIARMAIO LÉ HADÓ MAC BPIÉANAINN NÍ TEACBA, ÁIT AR  
 MARBÁD IOMAO DA MUINNCTI; AGUR DA ÉIR FIN DO ÉUIO  
 COLUM CILLE I NÍ I NALBAIN, I N-DOIR A TRÍ BLIADNA IR DÁ  
 FÍEIO; AGUR TUGAÐ CAT MÓNA DOIRE I NALBAIN LÉ CLANNAIB  
 890 NÉILL AN TUAPCEIPT, MAR AR TUITEADAR REACÉ MINPÍOGA DO  
 CRUITNEACAIÐ LEO. IR FÁN AM-RO FUAIR COLMÁN MÓR MAC

called the Crom Chonaill, and many saints died of it, and in particular Mac Tail of Cill Chuilinn. At this time the Battle of Cuil took place, where many of the people of Corcach fell through the prayer of Midhe, that is, a noble female saint of the race of Fiachaidh Suighdhe, son of Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar, to whom these people showed disrespect.

It was at this time that Eochaidh, son of Connlo, son of Caolbhach, son of Crann Badhraoi, son of Eochaidh Cobha, son of Lughaidh, son of Rossa, son of Iomchaidh, son of Feidhlimidh, son of Cas, son of Fiachaidh Aruidhe, who was king of Ulster twenty-two years, died, and he was the first king of the Dal nAruidhe. And Cormac, son of Oilill, king of Leinster, and Beag Mac De, the seer, died, and St. Molua, son of Sineall, son of Aimhirgin, son of Eirnin, son of Duach, son of Brian, son of Eochaidh Mogh, was born; and Cathfuidh, bishop of Achadh Chuinnire and St. Neasan, the Leper, died; and St. Breanainn, of the race of Cear, son of Fearghus, built the Church of Cluain Feartha; and Gabhran, king of Alba, died; and Gruige, son of Maolchu, king of the Cruithnigh, defeated and routed the Albanians.

It was about this time that Fearghus and Domhnall, two sons of Muircheartach Mac Earc, won the Battle of Cuil Dreimhne over Diarmaid, son of Fearghus, and he was routed and most of his people were slain, through the prayer of Columcille. For he had slain, in violation of Colum's protection, Cuarnan, son of Aodh, son of Eochaidh Tiormcharna, and God avenged that deed on him in this battle. Aodh, son of Breanainn, king of Teathbha, defeated Diarmaid in the Battle of Cuil Uinnseann, in Teathbha, where many of his followers were slain; and after this Columcille went to I, in Alba, when he was forty-three years of age; and the Battle of Moin Doire, in Alba, was fought by clanna Neill of the North, wherein seven minor kings of the Cruithnigh fell by them. It was about this time that



Cairbhíe mic Oilíolla mic Dúnlain, do bí 'n-a míg laigeán  
tríochao bliadhán, bár.

Ír i n-aimhriú Diaimada mic Cearbhaill do bheir i bflait-  
895 ear Éireann cáinís ríle Albanaic uar b'ainm Labán Dhaoi  
i nEirinn; agus do éualaid iomrád ar oinead Eoicé don-  
trúla rinnreap ríl Súilleabáin, agus cáinís do ionnruige  
o'iarraid tabairtair air, agus ní géabáid bponntanar oile  
uaid aic a leatfúil; agus o'uamán a éainte don dhaoi do  
900 raio Eoicé a leatfúil do. Tápla fán am roin Ruadán  
loépa ar an ládair, agus mar do éualaid an itge ain-  
oligéad, iarrair ar Dia rúile Labán do éur i gceann  
Eoicé, agus an feirom do-nivir do Labán do véanaim do;  
agus cáinís o'aitéuinge an naoinn go nveadadair rúile  
905 Labán i gceann Eoicé agus go nveinivir an feirom rin  
do fead a pé.

## VII.

An feactmáid bliadhán do flaitear an Diaimada-ro  
míog Éireann cáinís caillead úib uar b'ainm Sinead Cíó  
do éaradair ar gúaire mac Colmáin pé Diaimadair tré bheir  
910 na haonbó do bí aice uaité. Do éionóil Diaimadair rluag  
líonmar pé uil do buain víolaidéadta i mboin na caillige  
do gúaire, agus triallair go Sionainn don éur roin. Do  
bí iomoprio éionól rluag ír rocuide ag gúaire ar a éionn  
don leir oile; agus do éur gúaire Cuimín Foda mac Fiacna  
915 do iarraid ar Diaimadair gan uil go ceann ceitpe n-uaire  
brieadair Sionainn riar. "Ní móir an aicéuinge úit-re  
rin o'faigáil," ar Diaimadair, "agus do-géabta ní buid mó  
oá maó é do iarrrá." Do bádar tré leat ar leat don  
tSionainn, an pí Diaimadair don leir éoir ír gúaire don leir  
920 éir, go maoin ar n-a márad. "Ír iongnaid liom," ar  
Cuimín, "laigead an rluaidg-re agat ír méad an rluaidg  
atá io agaid." "Tuig a éleirig," ar Diaimadair, "nac



Colman Mor, son of Cairbre, son of Oilill, son of Dunlaing, who was thirty years king of Munster, died.

It was while Diarmaid, son of Cearbhall, was king of Ireland that a poet of Alba, called Labhan Draoi, came to Ireland; and having heard tidings of the generosity of Eochaid Aontsula, ancestor of siol Suilleabhain, he came to visit him and ask him for a gift, and he would not accept any gift from him but one of his eyes; and Eochaidh gave him one of his eyes lest the druid might satirise him. Ruadhan of Lothra happened to be present at the time, and when he heard the unjust request he asked of God to put Labhan's eyes in Eochaid's head, and that they might perform the same function for him that they did for Labhan; and it came of the saint's petition that Labhan's eyes passed into Eochaidh's head and performed that function for him during his life.

## VII.

The seventh year of the reign of this Diarmaid, king of Ireland, a nun named Sineach Chro came to Diarmaid to make a complaint to him against Guaire, son of Colman, for having taken her only cow from her. Diarmaid assembled a numerous host with the object of obtaining satisfaction from Guaire for the nun's cow, and he at once marched to the Sionainn. Now Guaire had assembled a host and multitude on the other side to oppose him, and he sent Cuimin Foda, son of Fiachna, to ask Diarmaid not to go westward beyond the Sionainn for the space of twenty-four hours. "That is not a great request to grant thee," said Diarmaid, "and a greater would be granted thee had'st thou asked it." Now they were on either side of the Sionainn, King Diarmaid on the east side and Guaire on the west side until the following morning. "I wonder," said Cuimin, "at the smallness of this host of thine seeing how great the host is which is against thee." "Understand, O cleric," said Diarmaid "that a

iomad cupaó éiripear caé aét mar i r toil mé Dia; agus ma'r  
oínear atá agat ar ar fuaig-ne, tuig naé iad na croíta  
925 caomhá aét na croídeada cruaidé éiripear caé."

Do commórad an cómpac eatorrha, an ní go n-a fuaig  
vo taobh, agus Suairé go neart Connaét i r Muínan von  
leir oile. Sídeao vo bhuiréao vo Suairé i r va fuaig, gur  
marbáo mórán vo máitib Connaét i r o'fearaib Muínan  
930 ann. Agus i r vo guróe Cáimín naoiméa vo beannuig i  
nlinir Cealltraé táinig buairé gcaé vo bheir ar Suairé;  
óir vo éroir Cáimín tré tréat air fá oimmbuairé gcaé vo  
beir ar Suairé. An naoim-ro Cáimín i r vo flioét fiaéac  
Aiceada mic Cacaoir Móir é. Táinig tré Suairé go  
935 Cáimín i r tug uimla i r óigheirí vó, agus vo fléacé 'n-a  
látair. "Ní fuil bheir air gan oimmbuairé gcaé vo beir  
oir," ar Cáimín.

Iar gur iomorro an éata ar Suairé táinig 'n-a donar  
go mainirtir big a raibe doimbean amáin maíalta, i r vo  
940 fiairpúig an bean cia hé. "Fear ghráí vo Suairé mé," ar  
ré. "I r triaig linn," ar i r, "maróm vo beir ar an níg  
rin i r mó véiric i r daonnaét i r einaé va bfuil i nÉirinn,  
agus veairgáir a muinntir vo éabairt." Téir an bean  
maíalta gur an rrué vo bí láim ma i r acéi bhuadán ann;  
945 cillir go Suairé gur na rcealaib rin. Téir Suairé amac  
gur an rrué i r marbair an bhuadán i r rug buiréadar mé  
Dia beir taobh gur an mbhuadán an oiré rin, i r a mionca  
vo bádar veir mairt oiré oile aige. Téir Suairé ar n-a  
márac i noáil a muinntir i r vo-ní comairle piú an  
950 oirérad caé oile vo níg Éiréann nó an ngiallraó vo rinn  
gáí vó. I r air vo éinn Suairé i r a muinntear vól go  
Diairmaid agus gíallao vó. Sídeao i r é moó ar ar gíall  
vó, rinn gáí nó éloróim an níog vo éur 'n-a béal vuir a  
fiaclaib agus é raon ar a glúinib. Agus ar mbeir vo



battle is not won by large armies, but according to God's will ; and if thou contemneth my host, know that it is not fair forms but stout hearts that win battles."

The battle was set on foot between them, the king and his host on one side and Guaire, with the Connaught and Munster forces, on the other. But Guaire and his host were defeated, and many Connaught nobles and Munstermen were slain. And it was at the intercession of Caimin, who lived and blessed in Inis Cealltrach, that the battle went against Guaire ; for Caimin fasted three days against Guaire in order that he might lose the battle. This St. Caimin is of the race of Fiachaidh Aiceadha, son of Cathaoir Mor. Now Guaire went to Caimin and paid him respect and homage and bowed down before him. " There is no avoiding defeat in battle for thee," said Caimin.

Now when Guaire had lost the battle he came alone to a little monastery, in which there was a solitary pious woman, and the woman asked who he was. " I am a favourite with Guaire," said he. " I am very sorry," said she, " that defeat should have overtaken this king, who is the most charitable and humane and hospitable in Ireland, and that his followers should be visited with dreadful slaughter." The pious woman went to a stream hard by and saw a salmon therein. She came back to Guaire with this news. Guaire went out to the stream and killed the salmon, and gave God thanks for having only the salmon that night, though he had often ten beeves other nights. Guaire went the next day to meet his friends, and took counsel of them as to whether he should give battle again to the king of Ireland or swear submission to him on a javelin's point. What Guaire and his friends resolved on was that he should go to Diarmaid and make his submission to him. Now the way in which he made his submission to him was to put the point of the king's javelin or sword in his mouth, between his teeth, while on bended knees. And while Guaire was in



- 955 *Shuaire* mar rin, aoubairt an ní lé luét da muinntir féin  
 ór íreal, "Fionnfam," ar fé, "anoir an t-é glóir oíomaoín  
 oo-ní *Shuaire* an t-einead móir úo." *Tug* ar óraoi da  
 muinntir ní o'iairaió air a lor ealaóda, ir ní *tug Shuaire*  
 aie óó. Cuirir lobair o'iairaió véirce air ar fon Dé.
- 960 *Tug* an vealg óir oo bí 'n-a bairt von boét. Téio an boét  
 uair, ir cairla ouine oo muinntir an míoz *Óiairaió* air ir  
 beanair an vealg óir ve, ir oo-beir oo *Óiairaió* é. *Tis*  
 an boét air go *Shuaire* da éaraois rin air, ir *tug Shuaire*  
 an cuoir óir oo bí cairir óó, aair beanaio muinntear
- 965 *Óiairaió* an cuoir von boét, aair *tis* air go *Shuaire*  
 aair rin éloirí *Óiairaió* air a fiaclair; aair mar oo  
 éonair *Shuaire* an boét go cuirreac oo cuir riué véar  
 uair. "A *Shuaire*," ar an ní, "an ar a éruaige riué beir  
 fáin éiríacair-fe aaroi aar caoi mar rin?" "Oo-beirir  
 970 bairair nac ead," ar fé, "ac ar a éruaige liom boét Dé  
 oo beir gan ní." Ir ann rin aoubairt *Óiairaió* air éirge  
 ir nac bair ó foir amac fá n-a ríac féin, aair go airbe  
 ní na n-uile úil ór a éionn da ngiallfaó, ir air leor leir  
 rin uair. Ceanglao riué eatorra féin aair aoubairt
- 975 *Óiairaió* air teac go haonac *Taillean* i bfaódaire fear  
 néireann, "aair oo-bear féin mo éirairair óm lá féin  
 amac úit," ar fé.

Téio *Shuaire* air rin go haonac *Taillean* aair mair nó  
 mála airgoir né n-a éoir i gcoinne a bionnta] o'feairb  
 980 éireann. *Tug* airair *Óiairaió* ar fearair éireann gan  
 don oíob o'iairaió aoinneir ar *Shuaire* ran aonac. Da  
 lá óó amair rin; an tear lá iomoir aoubairt *Shuaire*  
 né *Óiairaió* riué oo cuir ar earraoz éirge go noairnao a  
 faoiririr ir a ongao. "Crao rin?" ar *Óiairaió*. "bair

this position the king said secretly to some of his own people : " We will find out," said he, " whether it was through vain glory that Guaire practised such great generosity." He caused a druid from among his friends to ask him for something for the sake of science, but Guaire did not heed him. He sent a leper to ask him for an alms for God's sake ; he gave the poor man the gold bodkin that held his mantle. The poor man left him ; and one of king Diarmaid's people met him and took the gold bodkin from him and gave it to Diarmaid. The poor man again came back to Guaire and complained of this to him, and Guaire gave him the gold belt that was round him, and Diarmaid's people took the belt also from the poor man ; and he came again to Guaire, who had the point of Diarmaid's sword between his teeth, and, as Guaire beheld the poor man troubled, a flood of tears came from him. " O, Guaire," said the king, " is it distress at being under my sway that makes thee thus weep ? " " I solemnly declare that it is not," said he, " but my distress at God's poor one being in want." Thereupon Diarmaid told him to arise and that he would not be thenceforth under his own authority, and that the King of all the elements was over him if he were to make a submission, and that he considered that sufficient on his part. They made a treaty of peace with one another, and Diarmaid asked him to come to the fair of Taillte, into the presence of the men of Ireland ; " and," added he, " I will give thee my lordship to be thine from my death onwards."

Guaire then went to the fair of Taillte, having with him a budget or bag of silver to dispense to the men of Ireland. Now Diarmaid charged the men of Ireland that none of them should ask anything of Guaire at the fair. Two days passed in this manner ; on the third day, however, Guaire asked Diarmaid to send for a bishop for him that he might make his confession and be anointed. " How is that ? " enquired Diarmaid. " As I am near death,"



985 aTá im gár," ar Suidhe. "Cionnug tuigear tú rin?" ar  
 Diaarmaio. "Tuigim," ar Suidhe, "firi éiréann ar don  
 láTair agur san neac úioib ag iarraio neite oim." Tus  
 Diaarmaio ann rin ceao bhonnatir vo Suidhe. Sabair  
 Suidhe ag bhonnad neite vo gac donuine an tan poin;  
 990 agur ma'r fíor, ba fíore an lám lé noáilead ní vo na  
 boctair ioná an lám lé uioúlaicead ní non éigre. Vo  
 rinne Diaarmaio ríot ir ríotcáin pé Suidhe an trác poin  
 vo láTair fear n'éiréann ir vo bádar muinntearída va  
 céile ó poin amac.

995 Tapla go raib uime naomta cráibtead vo dearbhráitar  
 ag Suidhe var b'ainm Moóa; agur aimfir va noeacáio vo  
 déanam an coráir go tobair fíoruirce aTá lám pé buirinn  
 riar buó dear, cúis míle ó Dúrlur Suidhe, ir san 'n-a  
 foctair aT don maiccléiréad amáin vo bíod ag fíuotólam  
 1000 an aifirinn vo. Ir ní caitead féin ná an maiccléiréad ran  
 ló go n-oróce aT donpoinn, ir ní caiteí ann rin leo aT  
 beagán v'arán eorua ir biotar ir fíoruirce. Agur iar  
 vteacT laoi Cára ir iar ráo aifirinn vo Moóa vo gab  
 mian feola an maiccléiréad, ir duubairt fir an naom  
 1005 Moóa go raedó go Dúrlur v'fíor Suidhe v'fagáil a  
 fáfuirge feola. "Ná véin," ar Moóa, "an agam-ra go  
 nguóinn Dia v'iarraio feola dúit." Agur leir rin léigir  
 a glúine pé lár ir vo g'éaruir ag a fíuóe go Dia ar  
 iarraio feola von maiccléiréad. In-aomfeacT rin ir biad  
 1010 va fíearTal go borraib tige Suidhe, táinig vo fíuóe  
 Moóa gur ríobad na míara ir an feoil vo bí oim a  
 lámraib an luéta vo bí ag a fíearTal, ir trálltar leo  
 tar ríearraib an míur amac go noeapnadar go péimóiréad  
 gur an brárad 'n-a raibe Moóa; ir téio Suidhe go lion a  
 1015 teaglaig ar marcuíreacT i uoíuiréacT na míar. Agur  
 nuair ríngadar na míara vo láTair Moóa vo gab ag  
 molaó ir ag móraó anma Dé, agur duubairt fir an maic-  
 cléiréad a fáfad von feoil v'íte.



said Guaire. "How dost thou know that?" asked Diarmaid. "I know it," said Guaire, "for the men of Ireland are assembled and none of them asks me for anything." Then Diarmaid gave Guaire leave to make gifts. Guaire proceeded to make gifts to everyone, and, if the tale be true, the hand with which he made gifts to the poor was longer than that with which he made gifts to the bards. Then Diarmaid made peace and agreement with Guaire in presence of the men of Ireland, and they were thenceforth on friendly terms with each other.

Now Guaire had a brother called Mochua, a holy virtuous man, and on a certain occasion he went to observe Lent to a well of spring water, which is a little to the south-west of Buirenn, five miles from Durlus. Guaire, attended only by one young cleric, who used to serve him at Mass, and neither himself nor the young cleric took more than a meal every day-and-night, and then they took only a little barley bread and spring water. And when Easter day had come, and Mochua had said Mass a desire for meat seized the young cleric, and he said to St. Mochua that he would go to Durlus to visit Guaire in order to get enough of meat. "Do not go," said Mochua, "stay with me, and let me pray to God for meat for thee." And on this he knelt on the ground and prayed with fervour to God, asking for meat for the young cleric. At the same time while food was being served to the tables of Guaire's house, it came to pass through Mochua's prayer that the dishes and the meat they contained were snatched from the hands of those who were serving them and were carried out over the walls of the dwelling, and by direct route reached the desert in which Mochua was; and Guaire went with all his household on horseback in quest of the dishes; and when the dishes came into the presence of Mochua he set to praise and magnify the name of God, and told the young cleric to eat his fill of meat.

Leir rin tug rúil feača ir acóí an macáire lán vo  
 1020 maircfluađ, ir aoubairt náir foóar nó féin an feoil v'fađ-  
 áil ir méao na cóipe rin vo bí 'n-a vialó. "Ní heagál  
 vuic," ar Močua, "mo vearbriádaí go n-a teađláč acá  
 ann, ir guíom-re Dia gan neac vóib vo léigean tairir  
 ríúo go beic rátač vuic-re." Ađur leir rin leanaio buinn  
 1025 na n-eac von talañ go nač raihe neairt vóib triall tairir  
 rin go beic rátač von maircléireac. Ir ann rin vo guíó  
 Močua Dia 'ga iarriaró air rcaoilcaró va vearbriádaí ir  
 va teađláč. Scaoiltear leir rin vóib ir cigio vo látaí  
 močua. Léigir ġuaire ar a ġlúimib é féin vo látaí an  
 1030 naoim Močua ir iarriar mairmeacar air. "Ní heagál  
 vuic a vearbriádaí; ġíveao íctear an biaó lib annio."  
 Ađur iar ġcaíteam a ġroinne vo ġuaire ir va muinntir  
 ceileabhaio vo Močua ir cillio go Dúrlur ar a n-air.  
 Ir vearbaó ar ġíunne an rceoil-re ġurab bótar na mair  
 1035 ġairítear vo na cúig mílir vo ġlíge acá ó Dúrlur ġur an  
 vobair 'n-a raihe Močua an tan roin.

## VIII.

Ir i n-aimirí Diaimava mic Feađura míođ éireann vo  
 bí béacán naoiméa ann. Aveirio vionđ mé reanóur go  
 raihe mac oile i n-éađmar ġiačac Muilleacain ađ Eođan  
 1040 Óđ .i. Diaimav, ađur ir ar ġlioct an Diaimava-ro táinđ  
 béacán naoiméa vo beannuiđ i ġcill béacáin i múrceuióe  
 ġuir; ađur fór aveirio na reanóar go rađavair triúr  
 mac ađ ġiačaró Muilleacain féin .i. Oilill ġlann Mór  
 Oilill ġlann beađ ir veacáuač. Ađ ro veirmiréac ar  
 1045 rin :

béacán ó Diaimav naoim náir,  
 véanam olann ġiačac v'iomrác,  
 vream var cothaill tír ir tuat,  
 vá Oilill vóib ir veacáuač.

1050 Ir fán am-ro vo mear vhearal mac Diaimava mic  
 Feađura .i. mac míođ éireann, fleao v'ollmugaó va átaí  
 ađ Ceannannur na Míve, ir níor mair leir doinni va raihe



The latter thereupon looked up and saw the plain full of mounted men, and said that it was of no advantage to him to get the meat, seeing how many there were in pursuit of it. "Thou needest not fear," said Mochua, "these are my brother and his household, and I beseech God to permit none of them to advance beyond that point until thou hast had thy fill." And on this the horses' hoofs clung to the ground so that they could not go forward till the young cleric had had his fill. Then Mochua prayed God to set his brother and his household free. On this they were set free, and they came into Mochua's presence. Guaire knelt before St. Mochua and asked his forgiveness. "Thou needest not fear, brother; but eat ye your meal here." And when Guaire and his people had taken their meal they bade farewell to Mochua and returned to Durlus. It is a proof of the truth of this story that the Road of the Dishes is the name given to the five miles' path that lies between Durlus and the well at which Mochua then was.

#### VIII.

It was in the time of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus, king of Ireland, that St. Beacan lived. Some seanchas say that Eoghan Og had a son besides Fiachaidh Muilleathan, to wit, Diarmaid, and it was from this Diarmaid's progeny that St. Beacan, who lived and blessed in Muscruide Chuirc, sprang. And, moreover, the seanchas say that Fiachaidh Muilleathan himself had three sons, to wit, Oilill Flann Mor and Oilill Flann Beag and Deachluath. Here is a proof of this :

Beacan, noble saint, from Diarmaid sprung,  
Let us celebrate the children of Fiachaidh;  
A race who ruled country and district,  
Of them were two Oilills and Deachluath.

About this time Breasal, son of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus, that is, son of the king of Ireland, wished to prepare a feast for his father at Ceanannus na Midhe, and he was



aige i gcomair na fíeúe rin gan mairtfeoil 'n-a mbiaó  
 foirpídear pé n-a váil ar an bfeoil rin va áeair. Tríeáó  
 1055 ní fuair a raímaíl rin vo mairtfeoil i gcomfoisre vó áet  
 donmairt vo bí ag mnaoi maíalta i gCill Ealáruíde,  
 agus iarriair bpearal an mairt go háiread umal ar an  
 mnaoi, ir vo áairis reáet mba ir capb vo éionn na haonbó  
 v'faíáil vó. Éimíir an bean é. Tairir rin tug feirean  
 1060 an bó va haímúeoim uáite gur márb ar an bfeoil i. Agus  
 iar mbeit i n-áinear na fíeúe vo píí Éireann ir va  
 munnitir, tig an cáillead ir vo pinne caraoio ar bpearal  
 iur an píí. Ar gclor iomoiro na caraoioe rin vo  
 'Diarmaid .i. an pí, vo gab váfáet feirge é, ir doudairt go  
 1065 mbáireoáó pé bpearal tré fáruíáó cáillige Cille  
 healáruíde, ir beirir leir é ar bhuad ábann Loricáige, gur  
 báeáó leir bpearal amlaó rin. Gabair áitpeácar 'Diar-  
 maid tré n-a mac vo báeáó, ir téro va áeirneam rin pé  
 Colum Cille, ir doudairt Colum iur teáet v'fior an áeáoió  
 1070 béacáin von munnain, agus triallair féin ir Colum Cille  
 mar don iur go rángavari Cill béacáin von leir éuaró vo  
 Síab gCiot. Agus ir amlaó fuaravari an naom ir é ag  
 véanaím cloió timéall a peilge ir a áibío flúic 'n-a  
 timéall. Mar fuair béacán ámaic ar 'Diarmaid, ir eáó  
 1075 doudairt: "Fán vcalam a fioníalaig," ar pé. Leir  
 rin téro 'Diarmaid go glúinib i vcalmáin. "D'iarriat  
 comairce oit-ra ran ngníom vo pinne cáinig pé," ar Colum  
 Cille, "agus ag iarriat oit t'impróe vo éur go Dia fá  
 n-a mac v'áitbeoúáó." Leir rin guíoir béacán Dia go  
 1080 vúépiáetáó fá trí ar foráileam Colum Cille; agus ir mar  
 rin vo háitbeoúáó mac píog Éireann, .i. bpearal, tré  
 guíde béacáin naomíta; gur móraó áimm Dé ir béacáin  
 tréir an míorbál rom.

Tapla Guáire mac Colmáin, fá fear comáimrige von  
 1085 'Diarmaid-re, ir Cuimín Fota mac Fíacna ir Cáimín Inre

not pleased with anything he had for that feast as long as he had not fat beef to give to his father on the occasion. He, however, could find no such beef in his neighbourhood except one beef that belonged to a female recluse at Cill Ealchruidhe; and Breasal gently and humbly asked the woman to give him the beef, and offered her seven cows and a bull instead of the one beef. The woman refused his offer. On this he took the cow from her against her will and killed it for the feast. And when the king of Ireland and his people were enjoying the feast, the nun came and made a complaint against Breasal to the king. Now when Diarmaid, the king, heard this complaint he became furious, and said he would kill Breasal for having wronged the nun of Cill Ealchruidhe, and he took him to the brink of the river Lorcach, and thus he drowned Breasal. Diarmaid repented of having drowned his son, and he went to Columcille to express his sorrow for the deed, and Columcille told him to go to visit the aged man, Beacan, to Munster; and he set out, accompanied by Columcille, and they reached Cill Bheacain, on north side of Sliabh gCrot. And they found the saint making a fence round his cemetery and his habit wet upon him. When Beacan got sight of Diarmaid he said, "Get thee beneath the ground, parricide," said he. Upon this Diarmaid sank in the ground up to his knees. "It is to ask thy protection on account of the deed he has done that he has come," said Columcille, "and to ask thee to beseech God to bring back his son to life." Upon this Beacan prayed to God fervently thrice, by the direction of Columcille; and it was in this way that the son of the king of Ireland, to wit, Breasal, was brought back to life through the prayer of St. Beacan; and God's name and that of Beacan were magnified through that miracle.

It happened that Guaire, son of Colman, who was a contemporary of this Diarmaid, and Cuimin Foda, son of



Cealltíac i dteampull móir na hIníre. Agus vo cuirtear  
 trí cearta eatorra. Ar dtúir dúbhairt Cáimin, "Céad, a  
 Suairie," ar ré, "an ní buó maic leat agat?" "Óir ír  
 ionnmair mé a bhionnadh," ar Suairie. "Agus tuar, a  
 1090 Cuimin," ar Suairie, "céad an ní buó mian leat?"  
 "Iomao leabair mé fhuotal na fírinne," ar Cuimin. "Agus  
 tuar, a Cáimin," ar Cuimin, "céad vo mian-ra?" "Iomao  
 galair ar mo éor," ar Cáimin. Agus fuairtear a dtúir  
 a miana, aet i ndeireadh a mé gur hearcaineadh Cuimin lé  
 1095 Moéua, agus gur bean gac iad é, ma'f fíorí von treanúir.

Táinig Suairie mac Colmáin trí cafa vo fíuag Connaet  
 d'arraigín Múman go dtarla Díoma mac Ronáin mic  
 Dongura fá ní Cairil an tan roin vo i nUib Fíoghinnce mé  
 páirtcear Cláir Conntae Luimnig aníu, agus tug Díoma ír  
 1100 Suairie cat dá céile ag Cairn Fearaúais, gur bhíreadh vo  
 Suairie ír vo Connaetairí ann. Agus vo marbhadh an nuimíir  
 do-áirimíge doib mar aon mé ré triatairí d'uarilíir Connaet.  
 Ír é dúbair fá dtáinig Suairie ar an fíuag roin ag éilugadh  
 a maide ó Shíab éetge go Luimneadh vo bí vo fearnóinn  
 1105 Connaet nó go dtug Luígar Meann mac Dongura Tíuig  
 reat gacfa ar Connaetairí mar ar marb reat fíoga doib,  
 agus gan vo fíuag aige aet amíuir ír gíollanrair go  
 ndearnaidh ré fearann cloróim dá bfuil ó beirín trí  
 gCairbh ag Cairn Fearaúais go Luícar .i. bealaí an  
 1110 Luícar, agus ó áit na bómaíne go Léim an Con; gonaí  
 dá dearbhadh rin vo rinne Coimíac mac Cuileannáin an  
 rann-ro:

1115

fá hé rin an Luígar Láimhíre  
 tall ar éirgeadh Connaet éain,  
 ó Cairn Fearaúais fá uéar,  
 go háit Luícar lán vo gal.

Fá luét comáimíre dá céile Moéua ír Colum Cille,



Fiachtna, and Caimin of Inis Cealltrach, were in the principal church of the island, and three questions were proposed between them. First, Caimin said, "O Guaire, what wouldst thou wish to have?" "Gold and wealth to bestow," answered Guaire. "And thou, O Cuimin," said Guaire, "what wouldst thou like to have?" "Many books containing the word of truth," said Cuimin. "And thou, O Caimin," said Cuimin, "what is thy wish?" "Many diseases in my body," answered Caimin. And the three got their wishes, save that at the end of his life Cuimin was cursed by Mochua, who took all prosperity from him, if we may trust the seanchus.

Guaire, son of Colman, with three battalions of the Connaught host, came to plunder Munster, and they met Dioma, son of Ronan, son of Aonghus, who was king of Cashel at that time, in Ui Fidhghinnte, which is now called Clar Chonntae Liumnigh, and Dioma and Guaire gave battle to one another at Carn Fearadhaigh, and Guaire and the Connaughtmen were defeated there, and a countless number of them were slain, together with six leaders of the Connaught nobility. The reason why Guaire came with that host was to claim the territory from Sliabh Echtghe to Luimneach, which belonged to Connaught formerly, until Lughaidh Meann, son of Aonghus Tireach, defeated the Connaughtmen in seven battles, in which he slew seven of their kings, though he had no host except mercenaries and attendants, and he made sword-land of all the land from Bearn tri gCarbad, at Carn Fearadhaigh, to Luchad, that is, Bealach an Luchaide, and from Ath na Boraimhe to Leim an Chon, and it is as a setting forth of this that Cormac, son of Cuileannan, composed this stanza:

It was this Lughaidh Lamhdhearg  
Who lopped off from the fair Province of Connaught  
From Carn Fearadhagh, it was a choice,  
To Ath Luchad abounding in valour.

Mochua and Columcille were contemporaries, and when

agus ar mbeir i n-úirneib an fárait, do mocha nó mac  
 Duac, ní maib do rppéirí faogalta aige aet coileac i r lucoz  
 1120 i r cuil. I r é feirom do-nioú an coileac uó, iaiméirige an  
 meadóin oirce do coiméas. An lucoz iomorroio ní léigead uó  
 aet cúig uaire do coislaú fan ló go n-oirce, agus an tan do  
 tograú ní-ra mó do coislaú do uéanam, ar mbeir cuirgeac  
 uó ó iomao cpoirfirioil i r rleacatan, do gabad an lucoz ag  
 1125 rliobad a cluar go noircaú amlaio rin é. An cuil, ceana,  
 i r é feirom do-nioú beir ag riubal ar gac line va léagad  
 'n-a ppalair, i r an tan do-nioú rciot ó beir ag cantain a  
 ppalim do coimnuigead an cuil ar an line u'fágad go  
 tillead air do má a ppalim uó. Tapla go ghuo va éir  
 1130 rin go bfuairadair na tpi reoive rin bair; agus rpiobair  
 mocha leirir va éir rin go Colum Cille ar mbeir i ní i  
 nallbain uó, agus do-ni capaoir ar éas na healtan roin.  
 Scriobair Colum Cille cuirge agus i r ead doudair: "A  
 brádair," ar re, "ní cuirge uuit i n-iongantair éas na  
 1135 healtan do euair uait, oir ní bí an tubairt aet mar a mbi  
 an rppéir." Meairim ar an rúgraú-ro na bpiornaoim nac  
 maib ruim aca rna realbaib faogalta, ní hionann i r  
 móran do luic na haimprie-re.

Va éir rin do marbad Diaimair mac Feargura Ceirri-  
 1140 beoil pi éireann i Rait bis i Maig line lé haou Dub  
 mac Suibne Airiue, agus tugad a ceann go Cluain Mic  
 Noir, i r do haonacacac a colann i gCuinnrie.

Do gab Feargur i r Doimnall va mac Muirceartair  
 mic Earca mic Muirceadair, mic Eogain mic Néill Naor-  
 1145 gillair do fiol éireamóin piozac éireann doin bliadain  
 amáin. Duirgeac ingean Duac Teanguma pioz Connac  
 mair na mac-ro. I r fan am-ro tugad Cat Gabra Lirre  
 ar laignib lé Feargur i r lé Doimnall, air ar cuir ceirre  
 céad do laignib i r do marbad Diomán mac Cairill mic  
 1150 Muirceadair Muirceirge, do bí 'n-a piú ulaú veir mbliadna,  
 lé baclacair boirne. Agus 'n-a uiaio rin fuair Feargur  
 i r Doimnall bair.



Mochua or Mac Duach was a hermit in the desert the only cattle he had in the world were a cock and a mouse and a fly. The cock's service to him was to keep the matin time of midnight ; and the mouse would let him sleep only five hours in the day-and-night, and when he desired to sleep longer, through being tired from making many crosses and genuflexions, the mouse would come and rub his ear, and thus waken him ; and the service the fly did him was to keep walking on every line of the Psalter that he read, and when he rested from reciting his psalms the fly rested on the line he left off at till he resumed the reciting of his psalms. Soon after that these three precious ones died, and Mochua, after that event, wrote a letter to Columcille, who was in I, in Alba, and he complained of the death of his flock. Columcille wrote to him, and said thus : " O brother," said he, " thou must not be surprised at the death of the flock that thou hast lost, for misfortune exists only where there is wealth." From this banter of these real saints I gather that they set no store on worldly possessions, unlike many persons of the present time.

After that Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, king of Ireland, was slain at Raith Bheag, in Magh Line, by Aodh Dubh, son of Suibhne Aruidhe ; and his head was brought to Cluain Mic Nois, and his body was buried at Cuinnire.

Fearghus and Domhnall, two sons of Muircheartach Mac Earc, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland one year. Duinnseach, daughter of Duach Teangumha, king of Connaught, was mother of these two sons. It was about this time that the Battle of Gabhra Lithfe was won by Fearghus and Domhnall over the Leinstermen, wherein four hundred Leinstermen fell, and Dioman, son of Caireall, son of Muireadhach Muindearg, who was ten years king of Ulster, was slain by the boors of Buirren. And after this Fearghus and Domhnall died,



Do gab Eocháir mac Domnáill mic Muircearthaig mic  
 Earca agus Basán mac Muircearthaig mic Earca do fíol  
 1155 Éireannóin ríogáct Éireann. Trí bliadhna uóib. I r pán  
 am-ro fuair Cairbre Crom mac Ciuiméadainn Spéib mic  
 Eocháir mic Donngura mic Natfhaoié do bí 'n-a ríú Muin  
 triócau bliadhna bár. Cairur rin i r é an Cairbre Crom-ro  
 mé n-a bár tug Cat Feimean ar Colmán beag mac Dia-  
 1160 mada, áit ar bhuiréad do Colmán i r ar marbad iomad va  
 muinntir ann. Agus i r uime do gaircí Cairbre Crom de  
 ar n-a beir va oileadain nó va alcpom i gcromglair,  
 amail doir an file ran rann-ro:

1165

Díreac é ó fionn go bonn,  
 fear fírféata Cairbre Crom,  
 i r air do gab ainm mé air,  
 ar a alcpom i gcromglair.

I r é an Cairbre Crom-ro do bponn Cluain Uama do Dia  
 i r do mac Léinín.

1170 Aveiruo vream mé reanúr supab rán am-ro fuair  
 breamainn bioirra bár. Siúeac do mair ré naoi bfiéto  
 bliadhna do réir an treanúra ran rann-ro ríor:

1175

mair naó roiceann mór a ré  
 breamainn fá hálainn a ríor,  
 ceirre fiéto agus céto,  
 i r é méo naoi ar an mbioct.

Do éir rin tugad Cat Tola i r Foriola lé fiaíar mac  
 Basáin ar Éilíbh agus ar Orruigib, áit ar éit iomad  
 o'Éilíbh i r o'Orruigib ann. Agus fuair Conall mac Com-  
 1180 gail pi Dál Riada i nAlbain bár, ar mbeir ré bliadhna  
 véag i bplaitear na hAlban nó; agus i r é an Conall-ro  
 do bponn oilean í i nAlbain do Colum Cille. Do éir  
 rin do éit Eocháir i r Basán lé Cionán mac Tigearthaig  
 pi Ciannaéta Glinne Feimean.

1185

Do gab Ainmhe mac Séadna mic Feargura Ceann-  
 fota mic Conall Sulban mic Néill naoigiallaig do fíol  
 Éireannóin ríogáct Éireann trí bliadhna. Buirio ingean

Eochaidh, son of Domhnall, son of Muircheartach Mac Earca, and Baodan, son of Muircheartach Mac Earca, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland. They reigned three years. It was about this time that Cairbre Crom, son of Criomhthann Sreibh, son of Eochaidh, son of Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, who was king of Munster three years, died. It was, moreover, this Cairbre Crom who, before his death, fought the Battle of Feimhean against Colman Beag, son of Diarmaid, wherein Colman was defeated and many of his followers slain. And he was called Cairbre Crom from his having been educated or brought up at Cromghlaise, as the poet says in this stanza:

Straight was he from head to foot,  
A truly brave man was Cairbre Crom ;  
The reason why he received his name  
Was that he was reared at Cromghlais.

It was this Cairbre Crom who gave Cluain Uama to God and to the son of Leinin.

Some seanchas say that it was about this time Breanainn of Biorra died. And he lived nine score years according to the seanchus in this stanza :

Woe to him who reaches not great prosperity !  
Breanainn, excellent was his race,  
One hundred and eighty years  
Was the time he was in the world.

After this Fiachaidh, son of Baodan, fought the Battles of Tola and Forthola against the men of Eile and of Osruighe, where many of the Elians and the Ossorians fell ; and Conall, son of Comhghall, king of Dalriada, in Alba, died, having been sixteen years on the throne of Alba ; and it was this Conall who gave the island of I in Alba to Columcille. After this Eochaidh and Beodan fell by Cronan, son of Tighearnach, king of Ciannachta Ghlinne Geimhean.

Ainmire, son of Seadna, son of Fearghus Ceannfhoda, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland three years.



Cóbtaiḡ mic Oiliollla do Laignib̃ Aḡoa Laḡmann bean  
 Ainmípe mátaíḡ Doḡa mic Ainmípe. Da éir̃ rín do éuit  
 1190 Ainmípe lé Feaḡḡur mac Néill ar earbhaḡ Baḡoáin mic  
 Ninneaḡa i ḡCaḡḡaiḡ Léime an Eic̃.

Do ḡab Baḡoáin mac Ninneaḡa mic Feaḡḡura Ceann-  
 fova mic Conaill ḡulban mic Néill Naḡḡiallaḡ do fíol  
 Éipeamóin ríḡḡaḡt Éipeann doin bḡiaḡaíḡ amáin. Caḡt  
 1195 inḡean ríḡḡ fionnḡall bean Baḡoáin; aḡur iḡ i bḡlaiteaḡ  
 Baḡoáin ruaíḡ an naom̃, bḡéanaíḡn Éluana Feaḡta, báḡ,  
 aḡur Doḡ mac Eoḡaḡ Tíomḡaḡna rí Connaḡt do maḡbaḡ  
 i ḡCaḡ báḡa, iḡ Baḡoáin mac Caḡḡill rí Ulaḡ, iḡ Ruḡáan  
 Loḡḡa an naom̃. Do fḡioḡt Oiliollla flann bḡḡ mic Fiaḡaḡ  
 1200 Muilleaḡaíḡ uó. aḡur do maḡbaḡ Baḡoáin mac Ninneaḡa  
 rí Éipeann leíḡ an uá Cuimín .i. Cuimín mac Colmáin bḡḡ iḡ  
 Cuimín mac Libḡéin i ḡCaḡḡaiḡ Léime an Eic̃ i nḡomaiḡḡ.  
 Iḡ i fá haḡiḡ don Tíḡeaḡna do ríḡiḡ Beḡa, ran éeaḡḡamaḡ  
 éaibíḡil don tḡeaḡ leaḡaíḡ do Staiḡ na Saḡraḡ, aḡ uol do  
 1205 Coluḡ Cille i naḡbain 565.

## IX.

Do ḡab Doḡ mac Ainmípeaḡ mic Séaḡna mic Feaḡḡura  
 Ceannfova mic Conaill ḡulban mic Néill Naḡḡiallaḡ do  
 fíol Éipeamóin ríḡḡaḡt Éipeann reaḡt mbḡiaḡaíḡ ar fíḡíḡ.  
 Bḡḡḡíḡ, inḡean Cóbtaiḡ mic Oiliollla do Laignib̃, mátaíḡ  
 1210 an Doḡa-ro. Iḡ é Doḡ mac Ainmípeaḡ tuḡ Caḡ béal Uáḡí,  
 maḡ ar éuit Colmáin beaḡ mac Diaḡḡamaḡa aḡur cúḡ mile  
 maḡ don ríḡ tḡé fáíḡtine Coluḡ Cille. Iḡ rán am-ro  
 ruaíḡ Seanaḡ earpoḡ Éluana hḡomaiḡro báḡ, iḡ Fiaḡaḡ mac  
 Baḡoáin mic Caḡḡill mic Muípeaḡaíḡ mḡuḡḡeíḡḡ do bḡ  
 1215 'n-a ríḡ Ulaḡ cúḡ bḡiaḡaíḡ ar fíḡíḡ, ḡur éuit an tḡaḡ-ro i



Brigid, daughter of Cobhthach, son of Oilill, one of the Lagenians, of Ard Ladhrann, was the wife of Ainmire and mother of Aodh, son of Ainmire. After this Ainmire fell by Fearghus, son of Niall, at the instigation of Baodan, son of Ninnidh, at Carrig Leime an Eich.

Baodan, son of Ninnidh, son of Fearghus Ceannfhoda, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland one year. Cacht, daughter of the king of Fionnghall, was the wife of Baodan; and it was in Baodan's reign that Breanainn of Cluain Fearta, the saint, died, also Aodh son of Eochaidh Tiormcharna, king of Connaught, who was killed in the Battle of Bagha, and Baodan, son of Caireall, king of Ulster, and Ruadhan, of Lothra, the saint. This latter was of the race of Oilill Flann Beag, son of Fiachaidh Muilleathan. And Baodan, son of Ninnidh, king of Ireland, was slain by the two Cuimins, to wit, Cuimin, son of Colman Beag, and Cuimin, son of Libhrean, at Carraig Leime an Eich, in Iomairg. According to Beda, in the fourth chapter of the third book of the History of Sacsas, the age of the Lord when Columcille went to Alba was 565.

## IX.

Aodh, son of Ainmire, son of Seadna, son of Fearghus Ceannfhoda, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty-seven years. Brigid, daughter of Cobhthach, son of Oilill, a Lagenian, was the mother of this Aodh. It was Aodh, son of Ainmire, who fought the Battle of Beal Dathi, where Colman Beag, son of Diarmaid, and five thousand with him fell through the prophecy of Columcille. It was about this time that Seanach, bishop of Cluain Ioraird, died, also Fiachaidh, son of Baodan, son of Caireall, son of Muireadhach Muindearg, who was king of Ulster twenty-five years, but who now fell at the Battle

SCAT beata lé fiaðair mac Déamáin. Agus fuair Feólaim  
mac Tigearnaig ní Muhan báir.

1r lé hAod mac Ainmíreac do commórad mórdáil  
Droma Ceat mar a maibe comhóil uairle 1r easailre  
1220 Éireann. Agus 1r trí haubair pinnriopálta do bí ag  
Aod mé cnuinniugad na comhóla roin. An céadadhar  
oib do oibirt na bfilead a héirinn ar a méir do muirdear  
1r ar a deacraet a mar. Óir do bioir tríocad i mbuirtin  
an ollaim agus cúig fíri véag i mbuirtin an arioc .i. an  
1225 té fá goirpe céim ran bfilideact don ollaim. Agus do  
bádar fán am roin, beagna, trian bfeair néireann mé  
filideact, 1r do bioir ó Samain go bealltaine ar coinn-  
mead ar fearaid Éireann. Ar n-a mear o'Aod mac  
Ainmíreac sup éiom an t-uallac o'Éirinn iad, do éir  
1230 moime a noibirt ar an ríogact uile. Adhar oile fíri do  
bí ag Aod mé oibirt na bfilead, mar do éadar o'iarrair  
veilz óir do bí i mbriac Aoda. Dealz rin trá do fágad  
gad ní mar féadcomairca ag gad níz éiread n-a óiar;  
agus 1r é iarrair an veilz go ainmianac oib do éiríoirz  
1235 Aod mé n-a n-actur sup hionnairbad go Dál Riada Ulad  
iad. Do bí oioir moime rin ar na fileaduib mé linn  
Concubair mic Neasa Ríog Ulad tré n-a n-ainbreaib  
féin.

Do éionládar filead Éireann an trá roin i goinne  
1240 1r i goimhóil a éile; agus do b'é a lion ar an goimhóil  
rin veic gcéad o'fileaduib ag a maibe buidean; agus do  
bádar an trá roin ag cinnead comairle ar dul i nAlbain;  
agus mar do éadar Concubair rin téir Cú Cúlaim n-a  
noail, agus tug congáil feact mbliadan oib, amail  
1245 aveir an file ran rann-ro do beana ar an uairn vab  
torac, Eamain Ulad ionmáin leam:

Éirgíó Ular, aihra an rluag,  
um Concubair élordeamrad;  
Coinnmead feact mbliadan go mbliad,  
uainne do na fileaduib.



of Beatha by Fiachaidh, son of Deaman. And Feidhlim, son of Tighearnach, king of Munster, died.

It was Aodh, son of Ainmire, who convened the great assembly of Drom Ceat, where there was a convention of the nobles and of the clergy of Ireland. And Aodh had three chief reasons for calling together that assembly. The first reason was to banish the *filés* (or poets) from Ireland, because of their being so great a burden and because it was so difficult to rule them. For the *ollamh's* retinue numbered thirty, and there were fifteen in the retinue of the *anroth*, that is, the person who was next to the *ollamh* in poetic rank; and about that time nearly a third of the men of Ireland belonged to the poetic order, and they quartered themselves from Samhain to Bealltaine on the men of Ireland. Now Aodh, son of Ainmire, judging that they were a heavy burden to Ireland, decided to banish them from the entire kingdom. Another reason, too, that Aodh had for banishing the *filés* was that they went to demand a gold bodkin that was in his mantle. Now this was a bodkin that each king left as an heirloom to each succeeding king, and it was their inordinate demand of this bodkin that incited Aodh to drive them out, so that they were banished to Dal Riada of Ulster. The *filés* had been dismissed before then in the time of Conchubhar, son of Neasa, king of Ulster, on account of their unjust demands.

At that time the *filés* of Ireland assembled and held a meeting; and their number at that meeting was ten hundred *filés* who had retinues, and they were at that time deliberating on going to Alba, and when Conchubhar heard this, Cuchulainn went to meet them, and he retained them for seven years, as the poet says in this stanza which is taken from the poem beginning "Dear to me is Eamhain of Ulster":

The Ulstermen arise, noble the host,  
Led by Conchubhar of the red sword;  
Maintenance for seven years with renown  
We give to the *filés*.



Da éir rin do fcaoilríos na fíleada fá Éirinn ir ní raibé  
 vóicúir oiréa ó foim amaé go haimpri fíacna mic baosáin  
 níos ulaó, ná ó aimpri fíacna go haimpri mhaolcoba mic  
 Déamáin mic Cairill níos ulaó, ná ó aimpri mhaolcoba  
 1255 go haimpri doúa mic Ainmíreac. Fá trí íomoirio do vóil-  
 tadair firi Éireann do na fíleadaib zupí fortuiréadair  
 ulaó zác usir vóib foim íao. An céadusair do vóibreac  
 íao fá hé a lion míle; zupí no fort Concúbair go maicib  
 ulaó reacr mbliáda íao, aílail aoubriamair. An vaira  
 1260 vóibit do minneac oirra no fort fíacna mac baosáin ní  
 ulaó bliádaín íao, azupí reacr zcéao a lion um Eócaíó  
 Rígeígear, aílail aubir an fíle ran vuain réamháirde:

1265 Eócaíó Rígeígear reacr pán,  
 luir go fíacna mac baosáin,  
 fofríot fáilce vóimoir de  
 na fílió noz fortazíte.

An trear reacr do vóibreac íao go no fort Maolcoba  
 ní ulaó íao, vó céao vóag a lion, um Óallán Fozgail  
 ir um Seanacán, aílail aubir an fíle ran vuain céadna.  
 1270 Az ío mar aubir:

reacr do mhaolcoba na zcliar,  
 ré hioabair éinn tráéca ariar;  
 vó céao vóag fíle fofruair  
 fíir an íobair ariar-vuair;  
 1275 Do pas vóib mhaolcoba, an cing,  
 Coimíreac teora mbliádaín mbinn,  
 méaríó go ló an bpráca báin  
 do éine vóalbéa Déamáin.

An vaira haubair fáí commórac móiróáil Órioma Ceac, i  
 1280 noóiz go zcuirreac doú buinóir ar Óál Ríada i nAlbain,  
 azupí zan do éir aize oirra poimie rin acé éiríge fluaaz ar  
 mair ir ar tír ir íoc éarica lé ní z Éireann, aílail do

After this they let the *filés* scatter all over Ireland, and they were not banished from that time forward until the time of Fiachna, son of Baodan, king of Ulster, nor from the time of Fiachna to the time of Maolcobha, son of Deaman, son of Caireall, king of Ulster, nor from the time of Maolcobha to the time of Aodh son of Ainmire. Thrice then did the men of Ireland cast off the *filés*, and the Ulstermen retained them on each of these occasions. The first time they were banished they numbered a thousand; and Conchubhar and the nobles of Ulster maintained them seven years, as we have said. On their second banishment Fiachna, son of Baodan, king of Ulster, maintained them a year, and seven hundred was their number under Eochaidh Righeigeas, as the poet says, in the above-mentioned poem :

Eochaidh Righeigeas of noble laws,  
Went to Fiachna, son of Baodan ;  
He gave him great welcome,  
And he retained the *filés*.

The third time they were banished, when Maolcobha, king of Ulster, retained them, they amounted to twelve hundred, under Dallan Forgaill and Seanchan, as the poet says in the same poem. Thus he speaks :

When Maolcobha of the companies was once  
At Iobhar Cinn Trachta on the west side,  
Twelve hundred *filés* he found  
Behind the Yew to the north-west ;

Maolcobha, the chief, gave them  
Maintenance for three fair years.  
It shall live to the day of pale judgment  
For the well-shaped race of Deaman.

The second reason why the convention of Drom Ceat was held was in order that Aodh might impose a tribute on the Dal Riada of *Alba*, as he had no tribute from them up to that time except that they were bound to raise an army by land and sea and pay an *eric* to the king of Ireland, as

orruig Colmán mac Coimgeallais, do réir mar aveyr ré  
féin ran rann-ro:

1886

Sluaigeas la fonnaib do ghré,  
coblaic ar muir go mbeibéir—  
mo bheac beilglic gan bine—  
ir éiric lá veirbífine.

An tcear aóbar fár commórad mórtáil Opoma Ceat,  
1890 do díodur Scannláin Móir mic Cinnfaolais a flaitear  
Orruige, tré gan buindíor o'íoc né hAod, agus ar tí a mic  
Iollainn mic Scannláin do rioḡas ar Orruigib tré beir  
umal ran mbuindíor o'Adó. Zonad iao roin na trí fáta  
fár horruigeas mórtáil Opoma Ceat, amsil aveyr Dallán  
1895 fongaili ran rann-ro:

Trí fáta príota von uil,  
ar tí aicríogta Scannláin,  
um uil Riada, rioḡa an tcear,  
ir um díodur na n-éi ear.

1896 As ro na rioḡa cūgeadac ir na flata fearmáin do  
bí i mórtáil Opoma Ceat. Ar ucú Críomctann Cearr ní  
Laignan; Iollann mac Scannláin mic Cinnfaolais ní  
Orruige; Mao'vaim mac Aoda Deannáin ní iartáir  
Mumhan; Fingín mac Aoda Duid mic Críomctáin ní Mumhan  
1900 uile; Críomctann Deigheas ní veirceiric Éireann; Suairpe  
mac Colmán i n-éiric amsil fíacraic ear ir éiric; Raḡ-  
allac mac Daid no ba ní ar tucataib Taidíon ir ar  
Dreicne U; Rann go Cladán Módaínn; Ceallac mac  
Cannac mac Duid tucra ar Dreicne Uí Raḡallais;  
1905 Conḡalac éiric Maḡar ar Trí Conaill 'n-a níḡ; vá níḡ  
Cnḡail a. Maḡar mac Aongura ó Clodan Deara go  
fionnair i n-éiric fionn; Aod mac Duac Salais ó  
fionnair i n-éiric fionn go bóinn.

Ar an n-éiric do Cladán Cille i nAlbain cruinnuḡas



Colman, son of Coimhgeallach ordained, as he says himself in this stanza :

A host on land always,  
A fleet on sea as a perpetual custom—  
My skilled oral judgment without harm—  
And an eiric for kindred blood.

The third reason why the convention of Drom Ceat was held was to oust Scannlan Mor, son of Ceannfaolaidh, from the kingdom of Osruighe, because of his not having paid tribute to Aodh, and to install his son, Iollann son of Scannlan, in his place as king over the Ossorians on account of his being obedient to Aodh as regards tribute. And these are the three reasons why the convention of Drom Ceat was ordained, as Dallan Forgall says in this stanza :

There were three reasons for the convention :  
In order to depose Scannlan from kingship,  
The case of the Dal Riada, kingly the battle,  
And the extermination of the bards.

The following are the provincial kings and the territorial princes who were at the convention of Drom Ceat: First Criomhthann Cearr, king of Leinster; Iollann, son of Scannlan, son of Ceannfaolaidh, king of Osruighe; Maolduin, son of Aodh Beannain, king of West Munster; Finghin, son of Aodh Dubh, son of Criomhthann, king of all Munster; Criomhthann Deilgneach, king of the south of Ireland; Guaire, son of Colman, from the kingdom of clann Fiachrach, south and north; Raghallach, son of Uadaidh, who was king of Tuatha Taidhion and of Breithfne Ui Ruairc as far as Cliabhan Modhairn; Ceallach, son of Cearnach, son of Dubh Dothra, king of Breithfne Ui Raghallaigh; Conghalach Chinn Maghair, king of Tir Chonaill; the two kings of Oirghiall, to wit, Daimhin, son of Aonghus, from Clochar Deasa to Fionncharn, on Sliabh Fuaid; Aodh, son of Duach Galach, from Fionncharn on Sliabh Fuaid to the Boinn.

When Columcille heard in Alba of the summoning of this

- 1315 na comóála roin aghur na trí haúbairi fár tionóilead i, mar  
 atá, aitérioḡad Scannláin, víbirt na bfilead iḡ cur buin-  
 ciora ar Uál Riada, vo éiriall féin a hí ḡo héirinn mar  
 aon pé comhcionól naomhcléir; aghur iḡ é lion cléir vo  
 bí 'n-a fócairi aḡ tead̃t fá tuairim na comóála roin: vā  
 1320 fícto fagair, fíce eapros, caoḡa veocan iḡ tríoḡao maic-  
 cléir, aḡail aḡeir Amra Colum Cille ran rann-ro:

vā fícto fagair a lion,  
 fíce eapros uasal bríoḡ,  
 fíri gabáil pralm, clú ḡan aḡt,  
 1325 Caoḡa veocan tríoḡao mac.

- Vo féarfaide ḡo mbiaḡ vóirveaḡm aḡ an léaḡtoir ar  
 an ní éirítear ríor annro, mar atá ḡo mbeoír eapruis i  
 ḡcomveaḡt abbaḡ. ḡíveaḡ vā léaḡtar an vāra caibvōil  
 vo Stair na Sacran vo rēriob beva mar a labrann ar  
 1330 pūbīléir oilein í i nAlbain, iḡ follur ḡo mbioír eapruis  
 na hAlban uḡal v'abbair í i n-Allō. aḡ ro iomorro  
 mar aḡeir: a "fā ḡnāc," ar pé, "mḡ an oilean-ro vo  
 fíor uāctarān vo beir aḡ vo biaḡ 'n-a abb iḡ 'n-a fagair  
 aḡ a mbioḡ an érioḡ uile fá n-a rmaḡt aghur fá n-a  
 1335 vliḡeāḡ, aghur fōr fá vliḡteāḡ vo na heapḡoḡaib féin,  
 ḡér nōr neaḡḡnācāḡ é, beir uḡal vō, vo péir fompā  
 an céavvōctūria vo bí ar an oilean naḡ maibe 'n-a  
 eapros aḡt 'n-a fagair iḡ 'n-a mānāc." aghur iḡ  
 follur ḡurab é Colum Cille an céavvōctūri fuaḡir an  
 1340 pūbīléir ar vōr i ní, aḡail aḡeir beva ran veaḡ-  
 māḡ caibvōil von éirgeāḡ leabair von Stair céavvā.  
 b "fā hé Colum," ar pé, "céavvōctūri an ériovm  
 cātoilice vo na pīctib ran aḡro tuāḡ ar na rlēibib iḡ  
 an céavvūine vo tōḡaib mainḡtear i n-oilean í vo bí  
 1345 cāḡarāc cian v'aimḡri aḡ iomāḡ vo pōibleaḡaib na Scot iḡ  
 na bPīct." ar na bmaḡraib-re beva iḡ iontuḡte ḡurab

a. Habere autem solet (inquit) ipsa Insula rectorem semper  
 Abbatem presbiterem cuius iuri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam  
 episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subiecti iuxte exemplum  
 primi doctoris illius qui non episcopus sed presbiter extitit et  
 monachus.



convention and the three reasons for which it was summoned, to wit, the deposition of Scannlan, the banishment of the filés, and the laying tribute on the Dal Riada, he proceeded from I to Ireland with a company of holy clerics ; and the number of clerics he had with him as he came to this convention was forty priests, twenty bishops, fifty deacons, and thirty minor clerics, as the Amhra Choluim Chille says in this stanza :

Forty priests, the full number,  
Twenty bishops noble strong  
To chant psalms, faultless the repute,  
Fifty deacons, thirty minor clerics.

The reader may possibly disbelieve what has been here stated, to wit, that bishops should be among the following of an abbot. If, however, one reads the second chapter of the History of Sacsá which Beda has written, where he speaks of the privileges of the island of I, in Alba, it will appear that the bishops of Alba were subject to the abbot of I in olden times. It is thus, indeed, he speaks : " It was ever the custom in this island," says he, " to have as superior an abbot who was a priest, and who had jurisdiction and authority over the entire country, and even the bishops themselves were subject to him, though the custom was unusual, according to the example of the first doctor who was in the island, who was not a bishop but a priest and a monk." And it is plain that Columcille was the first doctor, who was first given the privilege in I, as Beda says in the tenth chapter of the fifth book of the same History. " Colum," says he, " was the first doctor of the Catholic faith to the Picts of the mountains in the north, and the first to build a monastery in the island of I, which was long venerated by many congregations of the Scots and Picts." From these words of Beda it is to be understood

<sup>100</sup> *b.* Columba erat primus doctor fidei Catholicae Transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem primusque fundator monasterii quod in Hii Insula multis diu Scotorum Pictorumque populis venerabile mansit.



é Colum Cille an céadnoctúirí do éadú do fíolaó an  
 éireoiní do na Pictib i scuidreacht Alban, i gcuirab uime  
 rin ní headú aindí do gábadar na ragaire i na manais  
 1350 oirra féin beir umal do Colum Cille i r'abbaid í da éir,  
 aet fór do gábadar na hearpuis féin oirra é, do bpiú  
 gupab é Colum Cille tug solur an éireoiní ar otúr dóib.  
 Agus i r uime rin tansadur eapuis i nÉirinn i gcoimheas  
 Colum Cille go mórbáil Orona Ceat.

## X.

1355 I r amlaio táinig Colum Cille i nÉirinn agus bpiro  
 ciarú tarina ar a fúilí go nae raicreao úir Éireann.  
 Óir do bí o'fíaduib air gan úir Éireann o'fáicrin ón triad  
 do éir Molair do bpiet aicrege air uil i nAlban agus  
 gan fonn na hÉireann o'fáicrin go báp, ionnur go táinig  
 1360 óe rin gur éonadú an bpiro ciarú ar a fúilí an feal  
 do bí i nÉirinn go cilleao i nAlban do; gonao ag  
 fairnéir an éomail do rinne Colum Cille ar an mbpiet  
 rin, do rinne Molair an rann-ro:

1365 Sé táinig Colum anoir,  
 i n-eatar tar an mórbuip,  
 ní facar ní i nÉirinn áin,  
 tar oirgeas i r in mórbáil.

I r é adbar iomorro fá rug Molair do bpiet ar Colum  
 Cille uil i nAlban, mar táinig do Colum Cille tri  
 1370 cae do éir i nÉirinn, mar atá Caé Cúile Opeinne, Caé  
 Cúile Raean, i r Caé Cúile Feao. I r é adbar Caé Cúile  
 Opeinne do píer an treinleabair da ngairtear Uirí  
 Ciadán; Feir Teamrad do rinne Diaimao mac Feargura  
 Ceiribeoil ní Éireann i r do marbaú uine uaral ar an  
 1375 bpiet rin lé Cuairnán mac Aoú mic Eoacé Tiomcáina;  
 agus i r uime do marb Diaimao an Cuairnán-ro tre mar  
 do marb feirean an uine uaral ar an bpiet i n-agaio

that Columcille was the first doctor who went to plant the Faith among the Picts in the north of Alba, and that it was for this reason that not only the priests and monks undertook to be subject to Columcille and to the abbot of I after him but even the bishops themselves took this yoke on them because it was Columcille first gave them the light of the Faith. And it was for this reason that bishops came to Ireland accompanying Columcille to the convention of Drom Ceat.

### X.

Columcille came to Ireland having a cerecloth over his eyes, so that he might not see the soil of Ireland. For he was forbidden to look at the soil of Ireland from the time that Molaise imposed as penance on him to go to Alba and not to see the land of Ireland till death, and it was for this reason that he kept the cerecloth over his eyes while he was in Ireland until his return to Alba; and it is to relate Columcille's fulfilment of this penance that Molaise composed this stanza:

Though Colum came from the east  
In a bark across the great sea,  
He saw nothing in noble Ireland  
On his coming to the convention.

Now the reason why Molaise imposed on Columcille the penance of going to Alba was that Columcille caused three battles to be fought in Ireland, to wit, the Battle of Cuil Dreimhne, the Battle of Cuil Rathán, and the Battle of Cuil Feadha. The cause of the Battle of Cuil Dreimhne, according to the old book called *Uidhir Chiarain*, was this: Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, king of Ireland, held a Feis of Tara, and a nobleman was slain at that feis by Cuarnán, son of Aodh, son of Eochaidh Tiormcharna; and the reason why Diarmaid slew this Cuarnán was that he had slain the nobleman at the feis in violation of the law



óligiú ír tearmainn na feire. Agus iul do marbhad  
 Cuairnán do éadú ar comairce dá mac Mic Earca .i.  
 1380 Fearghur ír Domnall. ír cuiriú rin ar comairce Colum  
 Cille é, agus tar comairce Colum marbhadar lé Diarmaid  
 é tré coill meáda na Tearmaid; agus táinig óe rin gur  
 tionóil Colum Cille clanna Néill an tuairceirt (tré n-a  
 comairce féin ír tré comairce éoinne Mic Earca do fá-  
 1385 ugaó) gur cuiread Cat Cúile Dheimne ar Diarmaid ír ar  
 Connactaib; gur bhuirad óioib tré guróe Colum Cille.

Cuiriú leabair Dub Molaga adbar oile ríor fá utugaó  
 Cat Cúile Dheimne, mar atá tréir an gclaoibheiré iuz  
 Diarmaid i n-agaó Colum Cille an tan po rpiob an  
 1390 Soircéal a leabair fionntain gan ríor, agus aubairt  
 fionntain gur leir féin an maicleabair do rpiobad ar a  
 leabair féin. Uime rin do togarad leat ar leat Diarmaid  
 'n-a bheiréam eatorra; agus ír í bheiré iuz Diarmaid  
 gurab leir gac boim a boimín, ír gurab leir gac leabair  
 1395 a maicleabair; gonaó é rin an vaira haóbar fá utugaó  
 Cat Cúile Dheimne.

Ír é adbar fá utug Colum Cille fá veaira Cat Cúile  
 Raetan do tabairt ar Óál ndairde ír ar ulltaóib do  
 toirc iomparain tarla roir Colum Cille ír Comgall mar  
 1400 do tairpeánadair Óál ndairde ír ulltaig iao féin leat-  
 triomac ran impearan.

Ír é adbar fá utug Colum Cille fá veaira Cat Cúile  
 Feada do tabairt ar Colmán mac Diarmada i noiol a  
 fáruigte fá Baodán mac Ninneada pí Éiréann do marbhad  
 1405 lé Comán mac Colmán i léim an Eic tar comairce  
 Colum.

Triallair iomorro Colum go n-a naomhéirí a hálbain,  
 amail aubhramair, go Éirinn, agus an tan do bí ag  
 teact i ngar na comóala aubairt an piozan, bean doóda,



and sanctuary of the feis. And before Cuarnan was slain he put himself under the protection of the two sons of Mac Earca, to wit, Fearghus and Domhnall, and they put him under the protection of Columcille, and Diarmaid slew him in violation of Columcille's protection for having transgressed the law of Tara, and the result of this was that Columcille assembled clanna Neill of the north (on account of his own protection and that of the children of Mac Earca having been violated), and the Battle of Cuil Dreimhne was fought against Diarmaid and the men of Connaught, and they were defeated through the prayer of Columcille.

The Black Book of Molaga gives another reason why the Battle of Cuil Dreimhne was fought, to wit, through the unjust judgment Diarmaid gave against Columcille, when he secretly copied the Gospel from Fionntain's book, and Fionntain claimed for his own the copy which was written from his own book. Accordingly, both sides chose Diarmaid as a judge between them; and the judgment Diarmaid gave was that to every cow belonged her calf and that to every book belonged a copy of it; and that was the second reason why the Battle of Cuil Dreimhne was fought.

The reason why Columcille caused the battle of Cuil Rathán to be fought against the Dal nAruidhe and the Ultonians was because a contention had arisen between Columcille and Comghall, when the Dal nAruidhe showed themselves partial in the contention.

The reason why Columcille had caused the Battle of Cuil Feadha to be fought against Colman, son of Diarmaid, was to avenge the affront given him in the murder of Baodan, son of Ninnidh, king of Ireland, at Leim an Eich by Coman, son of Colman, in violation of Colum's protection.

Now Colum, with his holy clerics, proceeded from Alba to Ireland, as we have said, and when he was approaching the convention the queen, Aodh's wife, told her son, Conall,

1410 ré n-a mac Conall gan cáthar vo éadhairt von éoiriéléiréac  
 ná va buíoin; agus ar bfaḡáil rcéal air rin vo Colum ful  
 páinḡ an láthair ir ead̃ aubhairt: “Ir ceas liom-ra an  
 ríogán go n-a hinnilt vo beit̃ i moét vā éoiri i gcionn  
 an átha-ro tíór go vti an bḡáé.” As ro veirmiréac̃ na  
 1415 hámra as aic̃fmoal bmaetar Colum ran mann-ro:

ir ceas vi-re beit̃ 'n-a éoiri,  
 ar an cléiréac̃ go ró-loinn,  
 's ir ceas va hinnilt go beac̃t,  
 beit̃ 'n-a éoiri 'n-a coim̃réc̃t.

1420 Agus ir uime vo oruig̃ an innilt vo beit̃ 'n-a éoiri mar  
 don m̃ir an ríogáin, vo bríḡ surab i táinḡ i vceac̃tairéac̃  
 ón ríogáin go Conall as a páó m̃ir gan cáthar vo éadhairt  
 von éoiriéléiréac̃ ná va buíoin. Agus vo éluim̃ o n-a  
 lán vo úaimib̃ go bfaic̃tear vā éoiri vo ḡnát ar an áé  
 1425 ac̃á láiñ ré ōruim̃ Ceas̃ ó foiñ ale.

Tála Colum Cille, ar moctam na com̃óala vó ir é  
 oiréac̃t Conall mic Aod̃a mic ainm̃iréac̃ ba neara vó von  
 com̃óal; agus mar vo éonnairc̃ Conall na cléirḡ ḡreac̃-  
 air vaoirc̃arḡlud̃ an oiréac̃ta rútaib̃, tr̃i naonbair̃ a líon,  
 1430 ḡur ḡabaṽar vo éabab̃ cmaó orra, ḡur brúḡad̃ ir ḡur  
 breoúad̃ na cléirḡ leo. Ir vo f̃iarḡuig̃ Colum cia vo bi  
 as a mbualad̃ am̃laid̃ rin. Vo éualaid̃ Colum surab é  
 Conall mac Aod̃a vo bi as a ḡreac̃ac̃t ré véanaḡ an  
 ḡníomã roin, ir cuir̃ir Colum fá veara tr̃i naoi ḡceoláin  
 1435 vo buain an tr̃ac̃ roin ar Conall ḡur hearc̃ainead̃ lé  
 Colum é, ir ḡur bean ríḡe ir airc̃eac̃ar ciall ir cuir̃ne ir  
 a inñtéc̃ac̃t ve. Agus ó na clogab̃ rin vo beanaó air,  
 ḡair̃tear Conall Clogac̃ vé.

Vo éuaid̃ Colum iar rin go hoiréac̃t ōm̃nall mic  
 1440 Aod̃a; ir éirḡir ōm̃nall 'n-a éinne ir vo fear fáilte  
 roim̃e ir tug̃ rós va ḡruaid̃ ir vo cuir̃ 'n-a ionad̃ f̃éin 'n-a  
 f̃uóe é. Tug̃ Colum a beannaéc̃t vo ōm̃nall mac Aod̃a,  
 ir iarḡair ar ōia ríogac̃t éir̃eann va moctam, agus r̃áinḡ



not to show any reverence to the heron-cleric or to his company. And when Colum was informed of this before he arrived at the place he said: "It is my will that the queen and her handmaid, in the shape of two herons, be over that ford below until Doom. Here is a proof from the Amhra repeating the words of Colum in this stanza:

Let her become a heron,  
Said the cleric in a great rage,  
And let her handmaid exactly be  
A heron in her company.

And the reason why he ordered that the handmaid become a heron together with the queen was that it was she who came with a message from the queen to Conall, telling him not to show any reverence to the heron-cleric or to his company. And I hear from many people that ever since two herons are usually seen on the ford which is beside Drom Ceat.

As to Columcille, when he arrived at the convention the party of Conall, son of Aodh, son of Ainmire, was the nearest to him in the assembly, and when Conall saw the clerics he incited the rabble of his party against them, thrice nine their number, and they pelted them with clods of clay, and they bruised and hurt the clerics. And Colum asked who were thus beating them. Colum was told that it was Conall, son of Aodh, who was inciting them to do this deed, and he ordered that thrice nine bells be rung on the spot against Conall, whom he cursed and deprived of royalty, of authority, of senses, of memory, of his understanding. And from these bells that were rung against him he is called Conall Clogach.

After this Colum went to the party of Domhnall, son of Aodh, and Domhnall went to meet him and bade him welcome, and kissed his cheek and seated him in his own place. Colum gave his blessing to Domhnall, son of Aodh, and prayed God that he might attain the sovereignty of





Ireland; and it happened ultimately that he held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirteen years before he died.

Colum, accompanied by Domhnall, proceeded thence to the king's party, and when he had come into the king's presence the latter welcomed him—the king dreaded him greatly on account of what he had done to Conall, to the queen, to her handmaid, as we have said. "My welcome is compliance with my wish," said Colum. "It shall be granted thee," said the king. "Then," said Colum, "what I wish is this: I make three requests of thee, namely, to keep the *filés* whom thou art banishing from Ireland, and to free Scannlan Mor, son of Ceannfaolaidh, king of Osruighe, from the bondage in which thou keepest him, and not to go to impose a tribute on the Dal Riada in Alba." "I do not wish to keep the *filés*," said the king, "so unjust are their demands and so numerous are they. For there are usually thirty in the train of an *ollamh*, and fifteen in that of an *anroth*, and so on for the other grades of the *filé* down to the lowest." Each of them used to have a separate train of attendants according to his degree, so that nearly the third of the men of Ireland followed the bardic profession.

Columcille said to the king that it was right to set aside many of the *filés*, as they were so numerous. But he advised him to maintain a *filé* as his own chief *ollamh*, after the example of the kings who went before him, and that each provincial king should have an *ollamh*, and, moreover, that each lord of a cantred or district in Ireland should have an *ollamh*, and Columcille proposed this plan and Aodh assented to it; and it was to celebrate this benefit which Columcille conferred on the *filés* that Maol-suthain composed this stanza:

The *filés* were saved by this means  
Through Colum of the fair law;  
A *filé* for each district is no heavy charge.  
It is what Colum ordained.

Táinig uon oruigead-ro uo rinne Doó mac Ainmíreac  
 iʳ Colum Cille go mbíod ollam cinnnte aʳ níg Éireann iʳ  
 aʳ gac níg cúigeadac iʳ aʳ gac tigeapna triúca éad, iʳ  
 fearann raor aʳ gac ollam víob ó n-a tigeapna féin; aʳ  
 1480 fór raorire coitceann iʳ tearmann ó fearaib Éireann aʳ  
 fearann iʳ aʳ maoin traogalta gac ollaman víob. Uo  
 oruigeadar fór fearann coitceann uo na hollamnaib go  
 cinnnte, mar a mbíad múnad coitceann aca aʳmail Univer-  
 sitie, mar aʳ Ráit Ceannait iʳ Marpurde maise Sléac  
 1485 ran mbíeírfne, mar a mbíod múnad na n-ealaðan i  
 n-aicrú aca uʳ fearaib Éireann, gac aon uo tograð beic  
 fuḡlumta i fearcúr nó rna healaðnaib oile uo bí aʳ  
 gnaðugad i nÉirinn an tan roin.

iʳ é fá haruollam i nÉirinn an triac roin Eoðad  
 1490 Éigear mac Oiliolla mic Eirc, aʳ iʳ nʳ a veiréi  
 Dallán Forgaill, iʳ uo cúir ollamain uad aʳ cúigeaduib  
 Éireann, mar aʳ aʳ Éigear aʳ éric breag iʳ aʳ an  
 Míoe, Urmáol aircéigear aʳ uá Cúigead Muman, Seancán  
 mac Cuairfearaig aʳ Cúigead Connact aʳ fear Fírb  
 1495 mac Muireadúig mic Mongáin i n-ollamnaect Ulad, aʳ  
 fór ollam i ngac triúca éad i nÉirinn fá na haru-  
 ollamnaib-re, iʳ fearann raor ó n-a bflaictib fearainn  
 uóib aʳ tearmann, aʳmail aubhamar, iʳ uara cinnnte  
 aʳ ron a nuan iʳ a nreáct uá gac aon víob.

1500 An uara haéuinge uo iari Colum aʳ Doó, rcaoirleac  
 uo Scannlán Mór nʳ Oruiḡe aʳ a léigean uá éric féin;  
 uo éimí Doó rin. “Ní leanam cairiʳ rin oir,” aʳ Colum,  
 “mar toil lé Dia é go raibe aʳ buain mʳiallcrann  
 nó mo bʳóg víom-ra anoct ran iairiméirḡe mar a mbíad.”

1505 “An trear aéuinge iairiam oir,” aʳ Colum Cille,  
 “cairre uo éabairt uo Uál Ríada gan uol uá n-aigain



From this regulation, which was made by Aodh, son of Ainmire, and Columcille, it followed that the king of Ireland and every provincial king and every lord of a cantred had a special ollamh, and that each of these ollamhs had free land from his own lord, and, moreover, the lands and worldly possessions of each of these ollamhs enjoyed general exemption and sanctuary from the men of Ireland. It was also ordained that a common estate should be set apart for the ollamhs where they could give public instruction after the manner of a University, such as Raith Cheannait and Masruidhe Mhuighe Sleacht, in Breithfne, where they gave free instruction in the sciences to the men of Ireland, as many as desired to become learned in seanchus and in the other sciences that were in vogue in Ireland at that time.

The ardollamh of Ireland at that time was Eochaidh Eigeas, son of Oilill, son of Earc, and it was he who was called Dallan Forgaill, and he sent out ollamhs and set them over the provinces of Ireland, namely, Aodh Eigeas over the district of Breagh and over Meath, Urmhaol chief eigeas over the two provinces of Munster, Sanchan, son of Cuairfheartach, over the province of Connaught, and Fear Fírb, son of Muireadhach, son of Mongan, in the ollamhship of Ulster; and, moreover, an ollamh in every cantred in Ireland under these high ollamhs, and they were to have free land from their territorial chiefs, as well as sanctuary, as we have said; and each of them was to get certain rewards for their poems and compositions.

The second request Colum asked of Aodh was to set Scannlan Mor, king of Osruighe, free, and let him go to his own country. This the king refused. "I shall not press it further," said Colum, "if it be God's will may Scannlan untie my thongs or take off my shoes to-night when I am at matins."

"The third request I make of thee," said Columcille, "is to grant a respite to the Dal Raida and not to go to

go hAlbain do tAbad buinctora orra. Óir ní oligítead éuit  
 o'fagáil uata aet aithéor ir éirge fluaḡ ar muir ir ar  
 tír." "Ní éuibhro cairve dóib' gan uul da n-ionnruige,"  
 1510 ar Aoó. "Maḡead," ar Colum, "biaid cairve go b'at  
 uait"; agus fá fion rin.

Leir rin ceileabhair Colum Cille go n-a éleir von riḡ  
 ir von comóáil; agus aveir leabair Glinne Dá Loé go  
 maibe doóán mac Gabráin mic Domanguirte ní Alban ran  
 1515 comóáil-re, ir gur ceileabhair i n-aoinfeadé mé Colum Cille  
 von riḡ ir von comóáil. Aveir an leabair céanna go maibe  
 an comóáil-re Óroma Ceat 'n-a ruiré bliadain ir mí ag  
 oruḡadú meáda ir oligeadó éanaé ir éairveara ioir fearaib'  
 éiréann.

## XI.

1520 Dála Colum Cille iar gceileabhad von comóáil  
 triallair go Duibheaglaier i nInir Eogain; agus iar uir-  
 eadé na hoirde da éir rin táinig lairir éallruigítead  
 éinead ran comóáil ar an bforfáire do bí ag coiméad  
 an éraoi 'n-a maibe Scannlán Mór i mbroir ag Aoó, ir  
 1525 dá flabha éeas iarnuiré do éuibhead air, go uirgadar  
 an forfáire a ngnúire mé láir ar méir an lonnrair do  
 connadar. Agus táinig olúim éallruigítead folurca  
 go Scannlán ran áit céanna 'n-a maibe, agus duubairt  
 an gur ran olúim iur: "Éirig, a Scannlán, ir fágaib'  
 1530 do flabhadó ir do éir ir tar amad ir lean mure ir tabair  
 do lám im lám." Tis Scannlán amad iar rin agus an  
 t-aingeal iorime. Do moḡuirir luét an coiméada é agus  
 do fíarruig ríad cia do bí ann. "Scannlán," ar an  
 t-aingeal. "Dá maó é ní inneorad," ar iad-ran. Gluairir  
 1535 an t-aingeal ir Scannlán i noiaid Colum Cille iar rin;  
 agus an trát do bí Colum ag an iairméirge ag uul tar  
 crann raigneal ríar ir é Scannlán do bí ag buain a b'óg  
 ée; ir do fíarruig Colum Cille cia do bí ann; ir do innir



Alba to plunder them with a view to laying a tribute on them, for you have a right only to a head-rent from them and a levy of forces on land and sea." "I shall not grant them respite, but shall pay them a visit," said Aodh. "Then," said Colum, "they will have a respite from thee for ever," and so it was.

Thereupon Columcille, with his clerics, took leave of the king and of the convention, and the Book of Glendalough states that Aodhan, son of Gabhran, son of Domhanghurt, king of Alba, was at that convention, and that he took his leave of the king and of the assembly along with Columcille. The same book says that the convention of Drom Ceat sat for a year and a month instituting laws and regulating tributes and forming friendly alliances between the men of Ireland.

## XI.

As to Columcille, when he had taken his leave of the assembly he proceeded to Duibheaglais, in Inis Eoghan, and on the next night, after nightfall, a brilliant flame of fire came upon the guards at the convention, who kept the cell in which Aodh had Scannlan Mor confined, bound by twelve iron chains, so that the guards put their faces to the ground because of the greatness of the blaze which they saw. And a bright dazzling flame came to Scannlan in the place where he was, and a voice in the flame said to him, "Arise, O Scannlan, and quit thy chains and thy cell, and come forth and follow me, and place thy hand in mine." After this Scannlan came forth with the angel in front of him. His guards observed him, and asked who was there. "Scannlan," said the angel. "If it were he, he would not tell," said they. Thereafter the angel and Scannlan went after Columcille; and when Colum was at matins, as he was passing through the sanctuary railing it was Scannlan who was taking off his shoes; and Columcille asked who



reirean gur b'é féin Scannlán. An tan vo fíarpuig Colum  
 1540 Cille rcéala de, "veoc," a veirleadó reirean, ar méio a  
 éarfa, óir feoil fáillte vo-beirtoir vó ran éró, ir gan veoc  
 'n-a vialó; agus ar a mionca vo-beirleadó rin vo fíreagra  
 ar Colum Cille vo fágaió Colum Cille migneas labarfa  
 ar gac níg va flioct va mbeic i nOrpuige. Tairir rin tug  
 1545 Colum Cille fá veapa ar bairtín trí veoca vo éabairt vo  
 Scannlán; ann rin noctair Scannlán a rcéala vo Colum,  
 amail aubhramar éuar. Aubhairt Colum Cille pé  
 Scannlán triall i nOrpuige. "Ní féadaim," ar Scannlán,  
 "o'eagla doúa." "Ní heagail uir," ar Colum, "beir  
 1550 mo bacall féin mar éomairce leat, agus fágaió agam  
 éomtionól i nDunmáig i nOrpuigib i. Leir rin triallair  
 Scannlán i nOrpuigib ir vo gab ceannar a érice féin  
 fead a pé; óir níor léig eagla Colum Cille o' doú buair-  
 jeam vo éeanaim air ó foim amac.

1555 Vo éeangail Scannlán i gcúitugadó a faorfa mar rin  
 rceaball nó trí pinginne ar gac teac muinntire 'n-a  
 úitáig ó bláoma go muir gacá bláoma vo éomtionól  
 Colum Cille i nDunmáig i nOrpuigib, amail léagtar i  
 náma Colum Cille ag aérpotal an geallaim tug  
 1560 Scannlán vo Colum:

Vo mar om éuataib om éoig,  
 Cia buó lip luacair ir luib,  
 rceaball gacá haóba foim,  
 an mair ó bláoma go muir.

1565 Tug fóir Colum Cille a beannaict o'Orpuigib uile, ar  
 éoingioll go mbeirtoir féin ir a ní umal vó féin ir va  
 éomtionól i nDunmáig ó aimir go haimir fá úiol na  
 cánao vo éeangail Scannlán orpa féin agus ar a flioct,  
 amail léagtar ran áma:

1570

beannaict ar Orpuigib uaim,  
 ar a mborglaine go gcéill,  
 beannaict vo muir ir vo éir,  
 uaim tré beic va níg oom péir.

was there, and he replied that he was Scannlan. When Columcille asked news of him, he answered "a drink," so great was his thirst, for it was salted meat they gave him in the cell, with no drink after. From the frequency with which he gave that answer to Columcille, the latter left an impediment in speech on every king of his progeny who should rule in Osruighe. Now Columcille directed Baoithin to give three drinks to Scannlan, and then Scannlan told his story to Colum, as we have said above. Columcille directed Scannlan to proceed to Osruighe. "I cannot," said Scannlan, "through fear of Aodh." "Thou needest have no fear," said Colum; "take my staff with thee as a protection, and leave it with my community at Durmhagh, in Osruighe." Upon this Scannlan proceeded to Osruighe, and ruled over his own country during his life; because fear of Columcille prevented Aodh from troubling him thereafter.

In return for his liberation in this manner, Scannlan imposed a yearly tax of a screaball, or threepence, on every household in his country from Bladhma to the sea, to be paid to the community of Columcille at Durmhagh, in Osruighe, as we read in the *Amhra Choluim Chille*, which quotes the promise which Scannlan made to Colum:

Thy share of my lands, of my house,  
Be they numerous as rushes or herbs,  
It is screaball from each house,  
The portion from Bladhma to the sea.

Columcille, moreover, gave his blessing to all the Ossorians on condition that they and their king should be obedient to himself and to his community at Durmhagh in succeeding times as regards the payment of the tax which Scannlan imposed on themselves and on their posterity, as we read in the *Amhra*:

A blessing from me on the Ossorians,  
On their pure-handedness and wisdom;  
A blessing on sea and on land  
From me, because of their king's submission to me.



An Colum Cille atámaoio vo luao annro ir é pá  
 1575 hainm bairte óó Ciuoméann, agus axal pá hainm von  
 aingeal coimveácta vo bí aige, agus Demal an veamán  
 vo bíóó go cinnte ar tí a buaivéarícta, amail léaghtarí ran  
 ámhra. As ro marí doeirí:

1580 Ciuoméann tíá Cumn, comall ngle,  
 ainm bairte Coluim Cille;  
 axal ainm a aingil gan on,  
 agus Demal a veamón.

Ir uime tíá vo lean Colum Cille v'ainm ari, an tan  
 vo bí 'n-a leanb as a múnas as Dubhlairí i vTíri Luis-  
 1585 véac i gCinéal Conaill, vo léigéí lá gáca reáctmáine fán  
 mbailé amac é vo reabmaó i mearc a luéta comáoirí, marí  
 fáorvóáil ari mbeirí von fuil míoíóá vóó; agus marí vo  
 éleáctaó vul amac lá ran treáctmáin marí rin, vo éionól-  
 vaoirí leinb an éannntairí 'n-a coinne an lá vo éleáctaó  
 1590 éiríge amac; agus ari mbeirí ari don láctairí vóóib as reíteam  
 nír, an tan atáóirí as tíall ón mainiríirí éuca é vo éóg-  
 bávaoirí a lámáa tíré lúctáirí as a páó v'áoníáirí "as rúo  
 Colum na Cille éugainn." Agus marí vo éualas a oíve go  
 gcleáctaó nír na leanbairí Colum Cille vo gáirim vé, vo  
 1595 méar gupí éoil mé 'Dia an t-ainm rin tapla i mbéalairí na  
 leanb neamuríóóveac vo gáirim vo fíoirí ve, agus an t-ainm  
 bairte, marí atá Ciuoméann, vo tábairí i nvearmávo. Agus  
 ir minic tapla a fámhailt rin vo málairí ari anmannairí  
 na naomí; bíóó a fávónairí rin ari móóvao vapi b'ainm  
 1600 Capríctaó ari vóúr, ir ari éamán naomícta, vailta pávraiz,  
 vapi b'ainm ari vóúr Mac Neirí, ir ari pávraiz réin vapi b'  
 ainm bairte Sochet, ir ari a vóuz Termanur Magonnur  
 ari an tan vo minne lámóurí ari ir marí tug Coelertinur  
 pápa pávraiz v'ainm ari mé huét a éuiríe i néirinn vo  
 1605 fíolaó an éreivomí, ir ari fíonnbairí Corcaizí vapi b'ainm  
 bairte luan, ir ari earpog íobairí vapi b'ainm loiceao vo



Criomhthann was the baptismal name of the Columcille we are treating of here, and Axal was the name of his guardian angel, and Demal was the name of the demon that specially troubled him, as we read in the Amhra. Thus it speaks :

Criomhthann Ua Cuinn, fair consummation,  
Was the baptismal name of Columcille ;  
Axal the name of his angel, without fault,  
And Demal his demon.

Now Columcille clung to him as a name, because when he was a child under instruction at Dubhghlaise, in Tir Luighdheach, in Cineal Conaill, he was permitted to go out into the village one day each week to play with his equals in age as a privilege, as he was of the royal blood. And as he was wont to go out thus a day in each week, the children of the district used to assemble to meet him on the day on which he was wont to go out, and, being together waiting for him, when they beheld him coming towards them from the monastery, they used to lift their hands for joy, and say with one voice, " Here comes the Colum or dove of the Church," and when the teacher heard that the children were in the habit of calling him Columcille he deemed it to be God's will that he should be always called by that name which was in the mouths of the innocent children, and that his baptismal name, to wit, Criomhthann, should lapse. And a change of name of this kind has often been the lot of the saints, witness the case of Mochuda, who was first called Carrthach, and of St. Caomhan, a disciple of Patrick, who was first called Mac Neise, and of Patrick himself, whose baptismal name was Sochet, and whom Germanus called Magonius, when he imposed hands on him, and whom Pope Coelestinus called Patrick on the occasion of his sending him to Ireland to propagate the Faith, and that of Fionnbharr, of Cork, whose baptismal name was Luan, and of the bishop of Iobhar, whose name was Loichead, and who lived

beannuis i mBeig-Éirinn i n-íochtai Laidhean, i' ar Conn-  
laod naomhta eapros Cille Dara d'ar éadóaimh Roincéann,  
i' ar m'oling d'ar éadóaimh Dairéill, i' mar rin do móián  
1610 da n-ionnteamlaib oile, ionnup naé cuirte i gconntadairt  
supab Cnuimhann fá hainm bairte do Colum Cille, tar  
ceann sup lean Colum Cille o'ainm coitcéann de do péir  
an adbair éuar.

Bíod a fíor agat, a léagtóir, supab fíir-Éipeannac  
1615 Colum Cille do leit a dtar i' a mátar agur naé Albanaé,  
amail aveyro cuio do na hAlbancaib. Óir i' follur  
supab Éipeannac do tadoib a dtar é, do b'is go léagtar  
i naomhfeandur Éipeann supab é Ferólimir mac Feargura  
Ceannfota mic Conaill Gulban mic Néill Naorigiallaig  
1620 do ba aiporí ar Éirinn fá haotar do Colum Cille. As  
ro veapbad an treandair aip rin, amail léagtar ran duain  
d'arab torac: Naomhfeandur naom Inre fáil:

1625 Colum Cille epíee Cuinn,  
mac Ferólimir uar gac upung,  
mic Feargura an gníoma gairg,  
mic Conaill Gulban glanair.

I' veapb fór supab Éipeannac Colum Cille do leit a  
mátar, do péir feandura na hAmra mar a n-abair supab  
i Eirne ingean Dioma mic Naoi do flióct Cairbre Nia  
1630 Fear ní Laidhean a mátar. As ro mar aveyr an Amra:

Eirne aipeácta noobí,  
an ríogan do dól gCairbrí,  
mátar Colum vada de,  
ingean Dioma mic Noe.

1635 Do cuipbad a éoir lé Colum Cille comhór roin lé  
tiorcad lé hupnuigtib i' lé r'léactanaib, ionnup sup fearg  
comhór roin lé cuar cpábad, sup léir a eapnac tré n-a  
aibio, an tan do luidhad ran gaimh 'n-a d'uiboré me  
révead na gaoite ar a éoir trér an b'p'ois, amail aveyr  
1640 an Amra ran pann-ro:



and blessed in Beigeirinn, in the lower part of Leinster, and of St. Connlaoch, bishop of Cill Dara, whose first name was Roincheann, and of Moling, whose first name was Dairchill, and similarly of many others like them; so that it cannot be doubted that Criomhthann was the baptismal name of Columcille, notwithstanding that Columcille clung to him as his common name for the above reason.

Know, O reader, that Columcille was a genuine Irishman on his father's and mother's side, and not an Albanian, as some Albanians say. For it is evident that he was Irish on his father's side, as we read in the history of the saints of Ireland that Feidhlimidh, son of Fearghus Ceannfhoda, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, who was high king of Ireland, was father to Columcille. Here is the seancha's statement of this, as we read in the poem which begins: The sacred history of the saints of Inis Fail:

Columcille, of the land of Conn,  
Son of Feidhlimidh, over every tribe,  
Son of Fearghus, of the fierce action,  
Son of the very noble Conall Gulban.

It is also certain that Columcille was Irish on his mother's side, according to the account given in the Amhra, where it states that Eithne, daughter of Dioma, son of Naoi, of the race of Cairbre Nia Fear, king of Leinster, was his mother. Thus speaks the Amhra:

Eithne, who is mighty,  
The queen out of the Dal Cairbre,  
Mother of Colum, who was thence pious,  
Was daughter of Dioma, son of Noe.

Columcille mortified his body by fasting and prayer and prostration to such a degree that he grew so emaciated through pious austerity that when he lay in the sand in his cell as the wind rushed in through the roof his ribs were distinguishable through his habit, as the Amhra says in this stanza:



Glé vo luigeaó ir in ngaineaí,  
 1 n-a liġe fá móir faoí,  
 Slíocht a eapnaí tpe n-a éiríeao,  
 fá léir lé féroeaó na nġaoí.

1645 Do b'é aoir Colum Cille, an tan fuairi ré báir, feaét  
 mbliadna véas ir tpi fíeio, aímaíl aueir Dallán Forgaill  
 1 náma Colum Cille féin, vo ríobao lé Dallán go  
 ġroo o'ér báir Colum Cille:

1650 Colum ġein baor fan mbíot mbán,  
 Saoípaí ón ġeuing a éorpan,  
 Téio go hainglib ar a éaét  
 iar feaét mbliadnaib feaétmoġat,

maí aía, tpi bliadna ir oá fíeio vo éaít oá aímrii 1  
 néirinn, ir oá éir rin éeíre bliadna véas ar fíeio 1  
 1655 nálbain, aímaíl aueir an ámaí fan ġann-ro:

tpi bliadna ceaípaíao oíob  
 Oó 1 néirinn ġan imínoí;  
 éeíre bliadna tpióao teann,  
 1 nálbain o'aíle éíreann.

1660 As ro na tpi háite 'n-a ġleaétaó Colum Cille comnuíe,  
 1 ní 1 nálbain, 1 n'oeíre, ir 1 n'óún oá leaíġlar, maí ar  
 haólaiceao é, maí aueir ré féin fan ġann-ro maí a noétann  
 a ionímaíne vo na tpi háitib rin:

1665 mo paí 1 ní ġan éoíre,  
 aġur m'anam 1 n'oeíre,  
 aġur mo éorpan fán lic  
 fá oá páopaíġ ir bpiġit.

An tpaí vo bíó Colum Cille aġ páó aímrii nó aġ  
 ġraímaíreáét nó aġ reanmóir, vo cluintí mile go leít a  
 1670 ġuít, aġur ní fúlaingeaó veamáan a ġuít ġan teíteao moíme,  
 aímaíl aueir an ámaí fan ġann-ro:

1675 Soim a ġoía, Colum Cille,  
 Lóir a binne ór ġaí cléir,  
 go ceann éoíġ céo véġ céimeann,  
 aíbíle péimeann, eao ba péil.

Plain he used to lie on the sand,  
In his bed was great suffering ;  
The form of his ribs through his dress  
Was distinct as the winds blew.

Columcille's age when he died was seventy-seven years, as Dallan Forgaill says in *Amhra Choluim Chille* itself, which was written by Dallan soon after the death of Columcille :

While Colum was in the fair world  
His body laboured beneath the yoke,  
He went to angels out of his body  
After seven and seventy years,

namely, forty-three years of his life he spent in Ireland, and after that thirty-four years in Alba, as the *Amhra* says in this stanza :

He was three years and forty of them  
In Ireland, without anxiety,  
Four and thirty strong years  
In Alba after Erin.

The three places in which Columcille used to dwell are in I in Alba, in Derry, in Dun da Leathghlas where he was buried, as he says himself in this stanza, in which he reveals his love for these three places :

My happiness in I, without fault,  
And my soul in Derry,  
And my body beneath the stone  
Under which are Patrick and Brighid.

When Columcille said Mass or sang psalms or preached, his voice was heard at a distance of a mile and a-half, and a demon could not endure his voice, but fled before it, as the *Amhra* says in this stanza :

The sound of his voice, of Columcille's,  
High its melody above every company ;  
As far as fifteen hundred paces,  
Mighty courses, was it distinct.

Do bí ragaire i nTíri Conaill i n-aimeirí Colum Cille  
 do chúrouis nó do cógaib easlaí do clocaib uairle agus  
 do rinne altóirí gloine innce, agus do cuirí vealbí shéine  
 i r éarca da nvealbuḡaḡ rān easlaí rín. So shroo da  
 1680 éir rín cáinḡ anbhainne móir ar an ragaire i r cáinḡ  
 veamān cúise iar rín so ruḡ leir rān aieor é. Agus an  
 triát rānḡaḡaḡaḡ i nḡar do Colum Cille ór a cionn, ruair  
 amāic oirra i r do rinne comāirca na crioice ór a cionn rān  
 aieor, gur cúit an ragaire leir rín anuair. Agus da biḡin  
 1685 rín do iorḡair an ragaire an easlaí do rinne do Colum  
 Cille trié n-a fóirḡin a lámāib an veamān, i r do cúair  
 féin i n-orro mānāc, gur cáit a aimeair so māit ó foin  
 amāc.

Do bí naomh i nUib Fahirceallaiḡ i nOrriuisḡe uair b'ainm  
 1690 Coirḡionn i r céro Colum Cille aimeair da fíor i nroisḡ so  
 oirḡiaḡaḡ māāic a leabair uó, oir do ba uaine ró-foglumca  
 aḡ a maibe iomaḡ leabair é. Agus do héimḡeāḡ leir a  
 māāic do éabair do Colum Cille; agus gurḡir Colum  
 Dia aḡa iarriair ari rān aoinleabair uíob do beir mléaḡca  
 1695 do neāc 'n-a beācāir; agus nior féaḡaḡ focal do léaḡaḡ  
 ionnta ó foin amāc gur ériḡaḡaḡaḡ.

Do cōnnaic baicitín o'airlinge tri cácaoir ar neamh  
 māi atā cácaoir oir, cácaoir ariḡro i r cácaoir gloine; i r  
 noctair Colum Cille uó gurab i r cōmāir cīarāin mic an  
 1700 csaoir do uí an cácaoir oir, ar méit a oirḡ o'airceādaib,  
 “agus an cácaoir ariḡro ro comāir-re féin a baicitín atā,  
 ar gloine do ériādaḡ; an cácaoir iomaḡ gloine im  
 cōmāir-re atā, oir ciorḡ glān mo ériādaḡ, i r aibuir cōlunḡe  
 so minic mé.”

1705 Aḡ ro céirre cāna éirḡeann .i. cāin do cuirí páoraiḡ rān  
 cléirce do māiādaḡ; cāin aḡamān rān mnā do māiādaḡ;  
 cāin Doire Colum Cille rān ba bleāca do māiādaḡ;  
 agus cāin Doimāiḡ rān ariḡear do uéanaḡ ann.



There was a priest in Tir Chonail in the time of Columcille who built or erected a church of precious stones, and he made an altar of glass therein, and he had images of the sun and moon set up in the church. Soon afterwards this priest fell into a deep swoon, after which a demon came to him and took him with him into the air. And when they came near Columcille overhead, he caught sight of them and made the sign of the cross above him in the air, and thereupon the priest fell down. And for that reason the priest made an offering of the church he had built to Columcille on account of his having rescued him from the hands of the demon, and he joined an order of monks himself, and led a good life thenceforward.

There was a saint in Ui Faircheallaigh, in Osruighe, called Coisfhionn, and Columcille went on a certain occasion to see him in the hope that he might let him see his books, for he was a very learned man and had many books. And he refused to let Columcille see them. And Columcille prayed God to grant that no person alive might be able to read any one of these books; and from that time not a word of them could be read, and they decayed.

Baoithin saw in a vision three chairs in heaven, namely, a chair of gold, a chair of silver, and a chair of glass; and Columcille explained to him that the chair of gold was for Ciaran mac an tSaoir for his great hospitality to guests, "and the chair of silver is for thyself, O Baoithin, for the purity of thy piety; but the chair of glass is for me, for though my piety be pure, I am often frail and worldly."

The following are the four rules of Ireland, to wit, the rule made by Patrick forbidding the killing of clerics; the rule of Adhamnan forbidding the killing of women; the rule of Doire Choluim Chille, forbidding the killing of milch cows; and the rule of Sunday forbidding a journey on that day.

## XII.

- 1710 1710 Cille báir. Tuig, a léagtóir, zupab é Colum Cille mac  
 Feólúimíú mic Feairgúra an Colum ari a bfuilim ag labhairt  
 go ró-ro. Aveir iomorro leabair Ruadú Mic Douagáin  
 1715 1715 Óir aveirio go maðadair dá Colum 17 fice naomta 1  
 nEirinn, agur fá hé Colum Cille an céad-Colum óioð.  
 Agur for 17 mar éuinnuagá ari naomtaót Colum Cille  
 tugáó Colum ari gáé don vo éac. Vo bádar cúig Ciarián  
 1720 1720 Mic Nóir 17 Ciarián Saisne 17 Ciarián Tiobhraidhe Naol. Vo  
 bádar dá Douán véas 17 fice naomta 1 nEirinn; vo  
 bádar feacót mBairirinn 1 nEirinn 17 fá óioð rin Bairir-  
 pionn nó Fionnbairi Corcaige. Agur fá mac an Fionnbairi  
 roin o'Ainirgin mac Duib Óuibne mic Ninneada mic Eocac  
 1725 1725 mic Cairbhe Airio mic Briain mic Eocac Muigheadóin fá  
 ní Éireann. Vo bádar iomorro feacót naomtearpuis véas  
 1730 1730 Fionnais, báoitin mac Allair 17 báoitin mac Cuanaé.  
 Vo bádar cúig Briúio véas naomta 1 nEirinn, 17 fá óioð  
 rin Briúio ingean Dubdaig vo Laignib atá iomráirteac  
 fead na heorpa; agur 17 follur zupab vo flioét Eocac  
 Finn Fuac nairt i; agur fá veairbrádaí vo Conn Céad-  
 1735 1735 éatac fá ní Éireann an tEocair Fionn roin. Ag ro  
 veairbad naomteandair Éireann air rin, amail léagtaí  
 ran ouain oarab torac: Naomteandair naom Inge Fáil:



## XII.

It was in the reign of this Aodh son of Airmire that Columcille died. Understand, O reader, that the Colum of whom we have been speaking up to this is Columcille son of Feidhlimid, son of Fearghus. But the Red Book of Mac Aodhagan and the sacred history of the saints of Ireland say that many of the saints, male and female, of Ireland bore the same name. For they say that there were twenty-two St. Columns in Ireland, and Columcille was the first Colum of them ; and further, it was in commemoration of the sanctity of Columcille that each of them was called Colum. There were twenty-five St. Ciarans in Ireland, and amongst them were Ciaran of Cluain Mic Nois, and Ciaran of Saighir, and Ciaran of Tiobraid Naoi. There were thirty-two St. Aodhans in Ireland. There were seven St. Bairrfhionns in Ireland, and amongst these was Bairrfhionn, or Fionnbharr, of Corcach. And this Fionnbharr was the son of Aimhirgin, son of Dubh Duibhne, son of Ninnidh, son of Eochaidh, son of Cairbre Ard, son of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmheodhon, who was king of Ireland. And there were seventeen holy bishops and seven hundred religious in the community of Corcach along with Fionnbharr. There were four St. Baoithins in Ireland, to wit, Baoithin son of Breanainn, Baoithin son of Fionnach, Baoithin son of Alladh, and Baoithin son of Cuanaidh. There were fifteen St. Brighids in Ireland, and amongst them was Brigid, daughter of Dubhthach, of Leinster, who is celebrated throughout Europe ; and it is clear that she is of the stock of Eochaidh Fionn Fuath nArt ; and that Eochaidh Fionn was brother to Conn Ceadchathach, who was king of Ireland. Here is the testimony of the sacred history of Ireland on this point, as we read in the poem which begins : The sacred history of the saints of Inis Fail :



1740 bhuíro inġean ōubċaiġ ōuinn,  
mic ōpenġne, mic bpeaġail buiġi,  
mic ōein mic Connla mic aġic,  
mic Caiġbpe nġa mic Coġmaic,

mic aonguġa mġoir miaġ ngarġ,  
mic eoċaċ ġinn ġuaċ ġé ġarġ,  
mic ġeioġimioġ Reaċġmġar ġoin,  
1745 mic Tuāġail Teāċġmġar ġioġnġar.

Aġ ġo ġioġ na ċeġġe bhuġio ōeāġ naomġa ōo bġ i  
nġiġinn i n-ēāġmaġi na bhuġioe ġuar: bhuġio inġean ōioma,  
bhuġio inġean mġianaġi, bhuġio inġean mġomāin, bhuġio  
inġean ēanna, bhuġio inġean ċolla, bhuġio inġean eāċ-  
1750 ġaiġ aġio, bhuġio ġnġe bhuġioe, bhuġio inġean ōamāiġ,  
bhuġio tSeanboċa, bhuġio inġean ġiaġnac, bhuġio inġean  
aġōa, aġuġ bhuġio inġean ġuġge.

ġġ ġé ġinn aġōa mic aġnmġieāċ aġi a bġuilmiō aġ ġiāċġ  
aġuġ aġōāin mic ġabġāin ġioġ aġban ōo bġ ċiaġaġġa aġ  
1755 ġan ġoin ōo ġéġeāġaġi ġaeōil mġanaġinn ōioġ.

ġġ ġé ġinn aġōa mic aġnmġieāċ, ġōġ, ġuaġi aġ naomġ  
ġainneāċ āċaġ ōō bāġ i n-aġiġ a ċeġġe mġliāġān aġi  
ċeġġe ġiġio; aġuġ ġġ aġi ġliōċġ ġeāġġuġa mic Rōiġ ōo bġ  
aġ ġainneāċ-ġo. ġġ ġān aġ-ġo tuġ ġolmān Rīmio ġaċ  
1760 Sleāġma, āit aġi bġieāġ aġi ġonall mac aġōa, aġuġ ġaċ  
ġūile ġaoil ġé ġiaċaio mic bāoūāin, āit aġi bġieāġ  
ō'ġiaċaio mic ōēamāin, ġġ i ōġuġaġ aġi a mġuġnnġie.

ōa ēiġ ġin tuġ ġonall mac Suġbne bġieāġ i ġaċ aġi  
na ġġi ġaġōāib i n-aġnġō, mġi āġā aġō Sleāine ġġ aġō  
1765 buioe ġi ō Maġne ġġ aġō Rōin, ġi ō bġāiġge. i mġbġuġim  
ōā ġōġa ōo bġiġ oġiġa, aġmāil aġeiġ aġi ġile ġan ġann-ġo:

bā ġō-mġi aġi ġuaċuma,  
aġi ġioġġuio ēiġeānn uile,  
aġō Sleāine ġo ġoġuioe,  
aġō Rōin aġuġ aġō buioe.

Brigid, daughter of Dubhthach Donn,  
 Son of Dreimhne, son of Breasal Borr,  
 Son of Dein, son of Connla, son of Art,  
 Son of Cairbre Nia, son of Cormac,

Son of Aonghus Mor, of high dignity,  
 Son of Eochaidh Fionn, hated of Art,  
 Son of Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar the noble,  
 Son of Tuathal Teachtmhar, the excellent.

The following are the fourteen St. Brighids who were in Ireland besides the Brigid spoken of above: Brigid, daughter of Dioma; Brigid, daughter of Mianach; Brigid, daughter of Moman; Brigid, daughter of Eanna; Brigid, daughter of Colla; Brigid, daughter of Eachtar Ard; Brigid of Inis Brighde; Brigid, daughter of Damhar; Brigid of Seanbhoth; Brigid, daughter of Fiadhnat; Brigid, daughter of Aodh; Brigid, daughter of Luinge (or Long?).

It was in the time of Aodh son of Ainmire, of whom we are treating, and of Aodhan son of Gabhran, king of Alba, who was very old at the time, that the Gaels lost Manainn.

It was, moreover, in the time of Aodh son of Ainmire, that St. Cainneach, of Achadh Bo, died, aged eighty-four years; and this Cainneach was of the stock of Fearghus, son of Rogh. It was about this time that Colman Rimhidh fought the Battle of Sleamhain, in which Conall, son of Aodh, was defeated, and the Battle of Cuil Caoil against Fiachaidh, son of Baodan, in which Fiachaidh, son of Deman, was defeated and his people slaughtered.

After that Conall son of Suibhne defeated in battle the three Aodhs in one day, namely, Aodh Slaine, and Aodh Buidhe, king of Ui Maine, and Aodh Roin, king of Ui bhFailghe. It was at Bruighean da Choga he defeated them, as the poet says in this stanza:

Dreadful was the bloody state  
 Of the kings of all Ireland,  
 Aodh Slaine with a host,  
 Aodh Ron and Aodh Buidhe.



Do bíod iomorro eagraonta gnátae ioir an dá fíadaí do  
 luaideamair go siro roimáinn, mar atá fíadaí mac  
 baodáin agus fíadaí mac Déamáin; agus táinig do gurde  
 Comgall naomta buaí do beir go minic as mac baodáin;  
 1775 agus an tan do cuir mac Déamáin rin i leir an naoim  
 do fíarpuig Comgall ve-rean cia buí feairi leir neamh ir  
 a mairbáid u'fagáil, ioná buaí do bpeir ir beir real beo  
 agus irpeann fá veipead. Dubhairt mac Déamáin go maí  
 feairi leir buaí do bpeir ar a námáir, ionnup na háir ir  
 1780 na héacta do-béarad oirra go mbeirir da n-aicirir i gcom-  
 tálaid coitceanna ó aicirir go haimirir. Ba hólé ré  
 Comgall an rogain rug; agus rug an fíadaí oile neamh  
 do rogain ir viommbuaí gcafa do beir air; agus fuair  
 rin tré gurde Comgall.

1785 Do bíod trá céile comairce naoim as gac aithreice  
 u'uairlib Gaedéal éipeann. Bíod a fíadnaire rin ar na  
 orongaid-re ríor: óir do bíod Caoimghin Glinne dá loé  
 as Tuadhalaid ir as brianadaid; Maothóg fearna as  
 uib gCinnfealaid; Moling as Caománadaid; Fionntain  
 1790 Cluana heirnead as riol Mórda; Caimnead ácaí bó as  
 Orpuigib; Ruadán loira as riol gCinnéirí; Deaglán as  
 na Déirib; Séanna as cloinn brian eadairad; Gobnair  
 i Múrcadair mic Diarmada; Colmán i nUib Mac Coille;  
 agus mar rin ní bíod críod ná cine i néirunn gan coim-  
 1795 airce éinnce naoim nó bannaoim aca da veugair cádar ir  
 onóir. Síad ad atáir naoim oile ann ir coitcenne ioná an  
 orong do luaideamair, mar atá Colum Cille, Finnén Muige  
 bile, Ciarán Cluana, Comgall beanncair, bpuig Cille  
 Dara, Ailbe Imleig, agus naoim páiraid, amail aveir  
 1800 dongur Céile Dé ran leabair da ngairceair pbalair na  
 Rann. As ro mar aveir:

uí néill uile ar cúl coluim,  
 ní ar rcát muine;  
 ar cúl finnéin muige bile,  
 ulair uile;



Now there was constant dissension between the two Fiachaidhs we have just mentioned, to wit, Fiachaidh, son of Baodan, and Fiachaidh, son of Deaman, and through the prayer of St. Comhghall the son of Baodan often got the upper hand; and when the son of Deaman charged the saint with this, Comhghall asked him *in turn* whether he preferred heaven and to be slain to gaining a victory and living for a time and hell in the end. The son of Deaman said he preferred to gain a victory over his enemy so that his slaughter of them and exploits against them might be recited at general assemblies from age to age. Comhghall disapproved of the choice he made, and the other Fiachaidh chose heaven and defeat in battle, and this he obtained through the prayers of Comhghall.

Indeed every great tribe of the nobles of Ireland had an attendant guardian saint. In testimony of this take the following tribes: For the Tuathalaigh and the Branaigh had Caoimhghin of Glenn da Loch; the Ui Cinnsealaigh had Maodhog of Fearn; the Caomhanaigh had Moling; the siol Mordha had Fionntain of Cluain Eidhneach; the Ossorians had Cainneach of Achadh Bo; the siol gCinneidhidh had Ruadhan of Lothra; the Deise had Deaglan; the clann Briain of Eatharla had Seanna; Gobnuid was for Muscraidhe Mic Diarmada; Colman for Ui Mac Coille; and similarly there was no district or tribe in Ireland without the special protection of a male or female saint, whom they venerated and honoured. But there are other saints more generally known than those we have mentioned, such as Columcille, Finnen of Magh Bile, Ciaran of Cluain, Comhghall of Beannchair, Brighid of Cill Dara, Ailbhe of Imleach, and St. Patrick, as Aonghus Ceile De says in the book which is called Psaltair na Rann. Thus does he speak:

The Ui Neill, all protected by Colum,  
Are not in the shade of a bramble;  
Protected by Finnen of Magh Bile  
Are all the Ultonians;

- clanna Connaëc ar cúl Éiríain,  
 Sion naé comhroinn;  
 1810 Uál nárurde uasal iméirinn,  
 ar cúl comhgoill;  
 bío laigin ar cúl bpiḡoe,  
 Clú go farúbre;  
 muḡa uile gona coirḡe,  
 ar cúl dílbe;  
 1815 aronaomh Éireann go n-a manḡaib,  
 1ḡ é a n-uirde  
 ḡaé naon 'n-a uḡeio a mbeir fo ḡeiré  
 ḡáorais uile.

- 1ḡ mé linn Aoḡa mic Ainmireac vo beir 1 bḡlaitear  
 Éireann vo baol ḡranoub mac Eoḡac mic Muirḡaḡais  
 1820 mic Aonḡura mic Feirḡlimir vo mic Éanna Cinnḡealais 'n-a  
 piḡ laigean doinḡliaḡain amáin. Aḡur 1ḡ leir féin 1ḡ  
 lé laigḡuib vo marḡaḡ Aoḡ mac Ainmireac 1 ḡCaḡ bealais  
 Óuin bolḡ. Aveirḡear fḡr ḡurab iao laigin féin vo  
 marḡ ḡranoub 1 ḡCaḡ Camḡluana, nó ḡurab lé Sárán  
 1825 Saoibḡearḡ aipḡinneac Seanboite Sine vo tuit ḡé, amáil  
 aveir an file ran ḡann-ḡo:

- Sárán Saoibḡearḡ feol amne,  
 aipḡinneac Seanboit Sine,  
 ní valb. ḡér b'annaḡ 1 ḡCaḡ,  
 1830 vo marḡ ḡranoub mac Eoḡac.

1ḡ rán am-ḡo ruair an naom Colmán Eala báḡ.

- Vo ḡab Aoḡ Sláine mac Diaḡmava mic Feaḡḡura Ceirḡ-  
 beol mic Conaill Ćrḡamḡainne mic Niall Naonḡiallais 1ḡ  
 Colmán Rímir mac Muirḡearḡais Mic Earca vo fiol Éire-  
 1835 amóin piḡḡaḡc Éireann. Sé bliaḡna 1 ḡcomḡlaitear uóib.  
 Muḡainn inḡean Conḡarainn mic Uaḡ vo Connaḡtaib  
 máḡair Aoḡa Sláine; aḡur Eirne inḡean ḡrḡeanainn Uaill  
 vo Connaḡtaib fá bean uó; 1ḡ ruḡ feirḡear mac uó .i.  
 Diaḡmavo, Uonnḡaḡ, Maolḡearail, Maolouar, Comḡall,  
 1840 1ḡ Oilill. 1ḡ uime tugaḡ Aoḡ Sláine u'ainm aip .i. ar



The tribes of Connaught are protected by Ciaran,  
 Though it be not an equal division ;  
 The Dal nAruidhe, the noble, the amiable,  
 Are protected by Comhghall ;  
 The Leinstermen are protected by Brighid,  
 Fame and riches ;  
 All Munster, with its produce,  
 Is protected by Ailbhe.  
 The chief saints of Ireland, with her monks,  
 It is their care,  
 Whatever path they walk in, to be all under the shield  
 Of Patrick.

It was while Aodh son of Ainmire, held the sovereignty of Ireland that Brandubh, son of Eochaidh, son of Muireadhach, son of Aonghus, son of Feidhlimidh, son of Eanna Cinnsealach, was king of Leinster for one year. And he and the Leinstermen slew Aodh son of Ainmire, in the Battle of Bealach Duin Bolg. It is also said that it was the Leinstermen themselves who slew Brandubh in the Battle of Camcluain, or that it was by Saran Saobhdhearg, the airchinneach of Seanbhoth Sine, he fell, as the poet says in this stanza :

Saran Saobhdhearg, noble guide !  
 The airchinneach of Seanbhoth Sine,  
 'Tis no falsehood, though he was seldom in battle,  
 He slew Brandubh, son of Eochaidh.

It was about this time that St. Colman of Eala died.

Aodh Slaine, son of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirr bheoil, son of Conall Creamhthainne, son of Niall Naoighiallach, and Colman Rimhidh, son of Muircheartach Mac Earca, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland. They were six years in joint sovereignty. Mughainn, daughter of Cucharainn, son of Duach, a Connaught-woman, was the mother of Aodh Slaine; and Eithne, daughter of Breanainn Dall, a Connaughtwoman, was his wife; and she bore him six sons, to wit, Diarmaid, Donnchadh, Maolbreasail, Maolodhar, Comhghall, and Oilill. He was called Aodh Slaine, for it was on the river which is named



an abainn uarab ainm Sláine iugaó é. 1r i bflaitear na  
veire-fe vo éuir Shéaíóir Mór na Róma S. Augurtime  
manac mar don pé comciónól naoimcléire vo fiolaó an  
Chreirim Catoilice i mBreatain. Vo éuit Colmán Rímhó  
1845 Lé Lócán Diolmáin. Vo marbaó Aoó Sláine Lé Conall  
nGuitbinn mac Suibne.

Vo gab Aoó Uaimioúnaó mac Domnaill mic Muir-  
cearcas mic Muiréadais mic Eogain mic Néill naoigiall-  
ais vo fiol Éireamóin ríogaóó Éireann feacó mbliadna ar  
1850 fíeio. Buió ingean Orca mic Eirc mic Eoóac máeari Aoó  
Uaimioúnaíó. Agus 1r uime gaircear Aoó Uaimioúnaó óe, .i.  
meóga fuara cinnir vo gabao é, agus óa maó leir maircear  
an uómaín vo-béaraó vo éionn forcaóóta donuairie ó'faóáil  
vó. Ionann iomorro uara eioúis 1r meóga fuar, gonaó  
1855 aipe rin gaircear Aoó Uaimioúnaó óe. 1r i bflaitear an  
Aoó-a-ro tugao Cáó Oóba Lé hAongur mac Colmáin, áit  
ar éuit Conall Laoóbmeas mac Aoó Sláine. Agus vo  
éuit Aoó Uaimioúnaó ní Éireann i gCac óa fcearta.

Vo gab Maolcoba mac Aoó mic Ainmireac mic Séadna  
1860 mic Feargura Ceannfota mic Conaill Gulban mic Néill  
naoigiallais vo fiol Éireamóin ríogaóó Éireann ceitpe  
bliadna. Cróimeac ingean Aoó Finn ní Ormuige bean an  
Maoilcoba-ro. Vo éuit Maolcoba Lé Suibne Meann i  
gCac Sléibe bealgaoáin.

Slaine he was born. It was in the reign of this pair that Gregory the Great of Rome sent St. Augustine, the monk, together with a community of holy clerics, to propagate the Catholic Faith in Britain. Colman Rimhidh fell by Lochan Diolmhain. Aodh Slaine was slain by Conall Guithbhinn, son of Suibhne.

Aodh Uairiodhnach, son of Domhnall, son of Muir-cheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty-seven years. Brigh, daughter of Orca Mac Eirc, son of Eochaidh, was the mother of Aodh Uairiodhnach. And he is called Aodh Uairiodhnach, for he was subject to cold fits of pain, and if he owned the wealth of the world he would give it to get a moment's relief. Now *uara eidhnigh* means *readhg fuar*, or 'a cold pang,' and hence he was called Aodh Uairiodhnach. It was in the reign of this Aodh that Aonghus, son of Colman, fought the Battle of Odhbha, in which Conall Laoghbhreagh, son of Aodh Slaine, fell. And Aodh Uairiodhnach, king of Ireland, fell in the Battle of da Fhearta.

Maolcobha, son of Aodh, son of Ainmire, son of Seadna, son of Fearghus Ceannfhoda, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland four years. Croinseach, daughter of Aodh Fionn, king of Osruighe, was the wife of this Maolcobha. Maolcobha fell by Suibhne Meann in the Battle of Sliabh Bealgadain.

## XIII.

1865 Do gab Suibne Meann mac Fiachna mic Feapadaiḡ mic Muirceartaiḡ mic Muirpadaiḡ mic Eoghan mic Néill Naoidgiallaiḡ míogacht Éireann trí bliadhna véas. 1r i bflaitéar tSuibne Meinn fuair Caoimḡin ḡlinne dá loc bár i n-doir a fé fícto bliadan; Caoimḡin mac Caomloḡa  
1870 mic Caoimḡeadá mic Cuib mic Feapḡura Laoibdeirḡ mic Fotaḡ mic Eodac Láimdeirḡ mic Meirín Corb vo flioct Labpadá Loingriḡ. 1r fán am-ro fuair doḡ beannain mí Muhan bár, aḡur an naoim Adamnán mac Rónáin mic Tinne mic doḡa mic Colum mic Séadna mic Feapḡura mic  
1875 Conaill ḡulban mic Néill Naoidgiallaiḡ vo bí 'n-a abb í i nAlban. Róna ingean Dungaile mí Ua oTuirtaire bean tSuibne Meinn míog Éireann. Do marbad Suibne Meann mí Éireann Lé Congal Claon mac Scannláin Sciaéleatáin.

Do gab Doimnall mac doḡa mic Ainmireac mic Séadna  
1880 mic Feapḡura Ceannfosa mic Conaill ḡulban mic Néill Naoidgiallaiḡ vo fíol Éireamóin míogacht Éireann trí bliadhna véas. Aḡur 1r é an Doimnall-ro tús Caé Óuin Ceiteirín arí Congal Claon, áit arí bair ve féin 1r arí marb iomao da muinntir. 1r i bflaitéar Doimnall fóir  
1885 fuair an naoim da nḡaircí Munna bár, 1r vo oibread Cairicac .i. Moḡua a Raḡáin ḡo Lioir Móir. Aḡur 1r arí flioct Céir mic Feapḡura vo bí Moḡua.

1arí noul iomorro vo Moḡua a Ciarraiúe arí oilitre ḡo Raḡáin, vo pinne mainirtir ann aḡur cuir comicionól  
1890 manac fan mainirtir, ḡo maḡadair veicneadair 1r reacht ḡcáo manac 'n-a fócáir ann vo-beiread a mbeata comí cráibdeac aḡur rin ar, ḡo mbíod aingeal aḡ labairt nír an tpear manac oib, ionnur ḡo oḡáinig ve rin ḡur fár



## XIII.

Suibhne Meann, son of Fiachna, son of Fearadhach, son of Muirheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, held the sovereignty of Ireland thirteen years. It was in the reign of Suibhne Meann that Caoimhghin of Gleann da Loch died, aged six score years. Caoimhghin was the son of Caomhlogha, son of Caoimhfhiodh, son of Corb, son of Fearghus Laoibdheargh, son of Fothach, son of Eochaidh Laimhdhearg, son of Meisin Corb, of the race of Labhraidh Loingseach. It was about this time that Aodh Beannain, king of Munster, died, and St. Adhamnan, son of Ronan, son of Tinne, son of Aodh, son of Colum, son of Seadna, son of Fearghus, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, who was abbot of I in Alba. Rona, daughter of Dunghal, king of Ui Turtaire, was the wife of Suibhne Meann, king of Ireland. Suibhne Meann, king of Ireland, was slain by Conghal Claon, son of Scannlan Sciathleathan.

Domhnall, son of Aodh, son of Ainmire, son of Seadna, son of Fearghus Ceannfhoda, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland thirteen years. And it was this Domhnall who won the Battle of Dun Ceitheirn against Conghal Claon, in which he overthrew him and slew many of his people. It was, moreover, in the reign of Domhnall that the saint who was called Munna died, and that Carrthach, that is, Mochuda, were banished from Rathain to Lios Mor. And Mochuda was of the stock of Ciar, son of Fearghus.

Now when Mochuda went from Ciarraidhe on a pilgrimage to Rathain he built a monastery there, and he placed a community of monks in the monastery; so that there were seven hundred and ten monks with him there, who passed their lives so piously that an angel used to converse with every third monk of them, and thus it came to

clú ir oiréaricaf móir naomháda ari éométionól Raitne.  
 1895 Uime rin vo fad uiréav naomh éloinne Néill ir cuirio  
 rcéala go Moctava va fósma vó Račain vo épéigean ašur  
 tpiall va vútaiš fén .i. von Múnam. Freaspar Moctava  
 vo na ceádaib táinig pir na haitearcaib rin ašur avubairt  
 nač tpiéigead Račain áct muna gcuiréav lám earpuig  
 1900 nó píos ar é. Ašur ar poctain na rcéal roin go naomhaib  
 cloinne Néill, iarpar ar blácmac ir ar Óiarpario  
 Ruannú, va mac Áoda Sláine vo bí vo élanhaib Néill,  
 vul vo víbir Moctava ar Račain; ašur lé gpearáct na  
 vpuinge rin téio blácmac ir Óiarpario Ruannú v'ionn-  
 1905 puige Raitne ašur vpiog vo éléir an caoibe éuav 'n-a  
 bročair.

Ar n-a élor vo Moctava go včángavari 'n-a šar, vo éur  
 tišearna vo na Pictib nó vo Čpuitneadaib a halbain var  
 b'ainm Conřtancin, vo bí 'n-a manac tuata ran éométionól,  
 1910 vo šuire na n-uaral roin um éairve bliáona vo éabairt  
 vo Moctava ir va éométionól šan a noibir a Račain;  
 ašur ruair ré rin v'impióe uata. Ašur ar gcaiteam  
 na bliáona amac tigio na huairle céavna i gcionn  
 bliáona go mbuirin vo na cléirib céavna 'n-a bročair;  
 1915 ašur ar poctain i bročair Raitne vóib cuirir blácmac  
 rcéala go Moctava aša iarpar ar an mainirtir; ašur  
 leir rin cuirir Moctava an Conřtancin céavna va nguioe  
 um éairve bliáona oile vo éabairt vó, ašur vo don-  
 cuišavari rin, šéir learc leo é. Ašur i gcionn an tpear  
 1920 bliáona špiorpari lé laorannhaib va Néill na huairle  
 ir an éliar céavna pié ceáct vo víbir Moctava an tpear  
 bliáoin a Račain; ašur ar vtišeáct i ngar von baile vo  
 éuravari an éomóail rin v'adononta Óiarpario Ruannú  
 ašur airéinneac éluana Congura ir rocuioe oile maille  
 1925 piú vo éabairt Moctava ar lám ar an mainirtir; ašur ar  
 poctain na heagairle vóib, téio an t-airéinneac irceáct ir  
 anair Óiarpario pié huprain an vopuir von leit amuig



pass that the fame and renown for great sanctity of the community of Rathain grew apace. For this reason the saints of the clann Neill became very envious, and they sent word to Mochuda directing him to abandon Rathain and betake himself to his own country, that is, to Munster. Mochuda replied to the messengers who brought him these instructions and said that he would not leave Rathain unless he were put out of it by the hand of a bishop or of a king. When this message reached the pious men of the clann Neill they besought Blathmhac and Diarmaid Ruanuidh, two sons of Aodh Slaine, who were of the clann Neill, to go and expel Mochuda from Rathain; and at the instigation of this body, Blathmhac and Diarmaid Ruanuidh, along with a company of clerics from the northern side, visited Rathain.

When Mochuda heard that they had come close to him he sent a lord of the Picts, or Cruitnigh, from Alba, called Constantine, who was a lay-brother in the community, to beseech these nobles to give a year's respite to Mochuda and to his community before expelling them from Rathain. And he got this request from them. And when the year passed the same nobles came in a year's time, along with a company of the same clerics, and when they had come close to Rathain, Blathmhac sent word to Mochuda asking him to come out of the monastery; and thereupon Mochuda sent the same Constantine to beseech them to give him another year's respite, and they granted this, though unwillingly. And at the end of the third year the same nobles and the same clerics were incited by the lawless folk of the Ui Neill to come and expel Mochuda the third year from Rathain; and when that company had come near the village they, of one accord, sent Diarmaid Ruanuidh and the airchinneach of Cluain Conghusa, along with a party, to bring Mochuda by the hand out of the monastery; and when these had reached the church the airchinneach went in and Diarmaid remained outside at the doorpost. When



- Tis Moéua, iad gclor Diaimada do beic ran doimur, v'fáilciuḡaḡ poimé agur iadmair ran eaglaif irteaḡ é.
- 1939 "Ní raḡao," ar Diaimaro. "An dom b'ieit-fe ar an mainirtir éangair?" ar Moéua. "I' eaḡ," ar Diaimaro, "ḡíoeaḡ ní obmaim a v'éanaim, agur i' aitéreaḡ liom tiḡeaḡ ran váil-fe ar méro do naomḡaḡa i' v'onóma-ra aḡ Dia." "Onóir ar neaḡ i' i v'almaim vuit-fe," ar Moéua, "i' 1935 cumḡaḡ i' mḡe i' flaitear éireann vuit, i' raḡ ar vo flioḡt vot éir; agur an tan fillfear tú ran ḡcomḡáil vobéaraio na hóis aḡa ann Diaimaro Ruanaio mar aitéir oir. ḡíoeaḡ i' i n-onóir vuit-fe i' vot flioḡt raḡar an foraimm rin." Leir rin tillir Diaimaro ḡur an ḡcomḡáil; 1940 agur ar poḡtain vo láḡair vó, fiaḡmuḡir bláḡmaḡ v'e eḡeaḡ ar nar euir lám i Moéua va ḡabairḡ ar an mainirtir. "Níor obmaḡ é," ar Diaimaro. "I' muanaio, a Diaimaro, an ḡníomḡ poim," agur ar n-a ḡlor rin von ḡomḡáil tuḡava Diaimaro Ruanaio v'ainm air. Ionann 1945 iomorro muanaio i' vearḡḡaḡ, ḡonaḡ flioḡt Diaimada Ruanaio ḡairḡear va flioḡt ó poim i le."

- Vála bláḡmaḡ, téro ḡo b'fuirinn leir von mainirtir, i' cuirir lám i Moéua, agur tuḡ ḡo hearaontaḡ ar an mainirtir amaḡ é, mar aon mé n-a ḡomḡionól. Mal- 1950 luḡir iomorro Moéua bláḡmaḡ. Triallaif iomorro Moéua ar rin mar aon mé n-a ḡomḡionól manaḡ aḡ v'éanaim feaḡ i' míoḡbal ḡo ráinḡ na Déire; agur ar poḡtain annrin vó, táinḡ mí na nDéire 'n-a ḡoinne i' tuḡ cáḡar i' onóir vó i' vo éiomaim a ḡoirp i' a anam ar 1955 a ḡomairce; agur triallaio mar aon ḡo Dún Scinne mé ráirḡear lior Mór aníú. Coimnuioir Moéua i' a ḡomḡionól ann rin i' vo-níḡ eaglaif ann ionnur ḡo raibe an aic rin onóiraḡ iomráirḡeaḡ i ḡraḡbaḡ i' i b'foḡluim ó poim i le. ḡonaḡ é rin triall Moéua a Raḡain ḡo lior Mór 1960 ḡo pó-ro.

Mochuda heard that Diarmaid was at the door he went to welcome him and ask him into the church. "I will not go in," said Diarmaid. "Is it to carry me off from the monastery thou hast come?" said Mochuda. "It is," said Diarmaid, "but I dare not do it, and I repent of having come on this expedition, by reason of thy great sanctity and of the honour God gives thee." "Honour in heaven and on earth be thine," said Mochuda, "and power and the sovereignty and the kingdom of Ireland be thine, and may thy progeny prosper after thee; and when thou shalt have returned to thy company, the youths who are there will give thee the name Diarmaid Ruanuidh in reproach. But that nickname will redound to thy honour and to that of thy offspring." Thereupon Diarmaid returned to the company, and when he came before them Blathmhac asked him why he did not lay hands on Mochuda and bring him out of the monastery. "I dared not do it," said Diarmaid. "That, O Diarmaid, is a basifful behaviour." And when the company heard this they dubbed him Diarmaid Ruanuidh. Now *ruanuidh* means *deargthach* or 'bashful,' so that his descendants are called the descendants of Diarmaid Ruanuidh ever since.

As to Blathmhac, he went with a party to the monastery and laid hands on Mochuda, and brought him and his community out of the monastery against their will. And Mochuda cursed Blathmhac. And Mochua proceeded thence, with his community of monks, performing wonders and miracles till he arrived at the Deise; and when he arrived there the king of the Deise went to meet him, and revered and honoured him, and commended his body and soul to his protection; and they both proceeded to Dun Scinne, which is now called Lis Mor. There Mochuda and his community dwelt, and there they built a church, so that the place has been honoured and celebrated for piety and learning ever since. Thus far the going of Mochuda from Rathain to Lis Mor.



Iy lé Dóinnall mac Aodá mic Anmíeacá ní Éiréann  
 tugadú Caé Maíge Raé, áit ar marbhadú Congal Claon vo  
 bí 'n-a níos Ulaú veic mbliadna. Agus iy upura a diéne  
 ar an rtaíi-ye va ngairítear Caé Maíge Raé supab  
 1965 opvuiséte an t-inneall iy an t-opvuisadú vo bíod ar fluaḡ-  
 aib ḡaeḡeal mé huét vola i n-iommbualadú nó vo cúp éata  
 úóib. Óiy vo bíod arvtaoiréac ar an fluaḡ uile, agus  
 tairéac ar ḡac fluaḡbuidin va mbíod fá n-a rmaét, agus  
 ruaitéantar i mbriatais ḡac tairis fá leic ar a n-aicéan-  
 1970 tairi ḡac fluaḡbuidéan víob reoc a céile leir na reanáróib  
 ar a mbíod v'fiacáib beic vo látar na n-uafal mé linn  
 cata nó coinbliocet vo tábairt va céile, ionnur ḡo mbíod  
 maḡaric rúl aḡ na reanáróib ar ḡníomairéib na n-uafal  
 mé fairnéir fíinnis vo véanam ar a n-ólalib leat ar leat.  
 1975 Agus iy uime rin vo bí a reanca féin i bpoéar Dóinnall  
 mic Aodá níos Éiréann mé huét Cata Maíge Raé. Óiy ar  
 mbeic vo Dóinnall aḡ trual i gcoinne Congal níos Ulaú,  
 agus iad va ḡac leic v'abainn, agus ar bfairin truaḡ a  
 céile úóib, fairruisir Dóinnall va reanca ḡac meirge ḡo  
 1980 n-a ruaitéantar fá reac úíob, agus noétar an reanca rin  
 vó, amáil léagtar ran laoir vabab topac: Tréan tairéar  
 cata Congal, mar a bfuil an rann-ro ar ruaitéantar níos  
 Ulaú féin:

1985

leóman buide i rúll uaine,  
 comairé na cpaobruaróe,  
 mar vo bí aḡ Conéubair éaró,  
 acá aḡ Congal ar congáil.

Iy iméian ó vo éionnreavair ḡaeúil ḡnátugadú na ruait-  
 éantar ar loḡs élonne Iyrael léir ḡnátugadú ran  
 1990 Égypt iad mé linn ḡaeúil vo maréam, an ran vo bávar  
 clann Iyrael aḡ trual tréir an Muir Ruar agus Maóire  
 'n-a arvtaoiréac opma. Vá tréir véas iomopio vo bávar  
 ann, agus fluaḡbuidéan iy ruaitéantar ar leic aḡ ḡac  
 tréir víob fá reac.



It was Domhnall, son of Aodh, son of Ainmire, king of Ireland, who fought the Battle of Magh Rath, where Conghal Claon, who had been ten years king of Ulster, was slain. And from the tract called the Battle of Magh Rath it may be readily seen that the array and order of the Irish troops as they went into conflict or engaged in battle were well regulated. For there was a leader of the entire host, and a leader of each division of the host under his charge, and an emblem on the standard of each leader, from which the divisions of the army were distinguished from one another by the seanchas, who were bound to be with the nobles whenever they engaged with one another in conflict or battle, so that the seanchas might be eyewitnesses of the exploits of the nobles, and thus be able to give a true account of their deeds on either side. And hence Domhnall, son of Aodh, king of Ireland, had his own seancha with him when he was about to engage in the Battle of Magh Rath. For when Domhnall was marching against Conghal, king of Ulster, and they were on either side of the river, and when they were in sight of each other's host Domhnall asked his seancha to name every one of the standards separately, and its emblem, and the seancha told him what they were, as we read in the poem which begins: Mightily advance the battalions of Conghal, in which is this stanza on the king of Ulster's own emblem:

A yellow lion upon green satin,  
The emblem of the Craobh Ruadh,  
Such as was held by noble Conchubhar  
Conghal now holds.

It is a long time since the Gaels began the practice of having emblems, in imitation of the children of Israel, who employed them in Egypt, in the life-time of Gaedheal, when the children of Israel passed through the Red Sea, with Moses as their chief leader. Now there were twelve tribes of them, and each tribe had a separate division of an army and a separate emblem.

- 1995      Tread Ruben, manoragha 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
             Tread Simeon, ga 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
             Tread Levi, an airc 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
             Tread iuda, leomán 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
             Tread iracar, aral 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
 2000      Tread Stabulon, long 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
             Tread neptalem, vealb óaim allair 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
             Tread saó, vealb bainleomáin 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
             Tread ioseph, carib 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
             Tread demamin, faolcú 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
 2005      Tread Uan, naóair neime 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;  
             Tread arep, cpaob olao 'n-a bratais mar fuaiteantar;

            A g-íor ríor fuitéam an tseandair ar fuaiteantairib  
             cloinne iudael, amail léagtar i seanleabair leacaom i  
             nUimhain i r i móran do leabhair oile ran laor-ge  
 2010 ríor:

- Aitne óam gaó meirge mór,  
             Ro baí a g cloinn uallais iacob,  
             Teapc neac ar a haitle ann  
             Aga mbeir aithe a n-annmann;
- 2015      Tread Ruben naé ríor cobair,  
             Ro b'é a meirge manoragair;  
             Ré duan ro éair an tread ée,  
             Ro lean fluas maic a meirge.
- Tread Simeon, níor ríor meirge  
             Aé ga uaidreac vídfeirge;  
 2020      Simeon an crionna cealgac  
             um úionna ba vídfeirgac.
- Tread Levi, luét na háirce,  
             iomda a vtreoir 'ra vtreomáinte;  
 2025      ba tairce na fláinte ro  
             faicín no háirce aca.
- Meirge a g troid iuda ahipa  
             Saíam leomáin lanéalma;  
             Tread iovaí i n-uair feirge  
 2030      sluas óiomair mun veigmeirge.
- Tread iracar an óir glain  
             meirge aice mar arain;  
             mimic flóg go meirge noead  
             um an meirge mór maireac.

The tribe of Ruben, a mandrake on its standard as an emblem  
The tribe of Simeon, a javelin on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Levi, the Ark on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Juda, a lion on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Isacar, an ass on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Zabulon, a ship on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Nephtalem, the figure of a wild ox on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Gad, the figure of a lioness on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Joseph, a bull on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Benjamin, a wolf on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Dan, a serpent on its standard as an emblem ;  
The tribe of Aser, an olive branch on its standard as an emblem.

Here follows the seancha's account of the emblems of the children of Israel, as we read in the old Book of Leacain, in Urmhumha, and in many other old books, in the poem below :

I know each great ensign  
That the proud children of Jacob had,  
Few are the people thereafter  
Who know their names.  
  
The tribe of Ruben, prosperity helped them,  
Their ensign was a mandrake ;  
The spirited tribe lasted a long time,  
A good host followed its ensign.  
  
The tribe of Simeon asked no ensign  
But a stern avenging javelin ;  
Simeon, the guileful wise one,  
Who was vindictive in the affair of Dionna.  
  
The tribe of Levi, the people of the Ark,  
Numerous their flocks and great herds ;  
It was a guarantee of their welfare  
To see the Ark with them.  
  
The ensign of the noble tribe of Juda,  
The figure of a powerful lion ;  
The tribe of Juda, in the hour of wrath  
Proud hosts following a good ensign.  
  
The tribe of Isacar, of the pure gold,  
Had an ensign like an ass ;  
Often a host with ruddy face,  
Followed the great beautiful ensign.



2035

Ṭreab Scabulon na ríall nglan  
Dealb a meirge long luétmar;  
ba gnáé fop éonnaib tana  
cáé 'n-a longairb luétmar.

2040

Dealb éamh allairb mórghírr mór  
as treib Neptaleim neimhí;   
Don treib no éleáct fpaóé feirge  
níor éarpc laóé mun luaitheirge.

2045

meirge as treib Ṣao i ngleogail  
mar éilb bíor ar baimleóam;  
noéar éim pé fpaóé feirge  
Ṣaé laóé rínn mun ríghmeirge.

2050

meirge mar éarpc go nóí neirc  
éoir as treib ioseph oiréarpc;  
suaiténo noíreao báóba  
an cineao éán comaróba.

2055

Ṭreab beniamin go mbriṡ mór,  
Ro bíó a meirge óí meirgib;  
meirge mar an bpaol bfoṡláé,  
Deirge ran éamh éomhoróac.

2060

Ṭreab Dan ba tuaitreac an tpeam,  
Oíreacé neimheacé toíge tuaitéall;  
Ṭréan pé haégoim ba róíṡ ée  
mar naéruíṡ mórí a meirge.

2065

Ṭreab Asep níor éruaró um éraó  
meirge rap lean mar loéar;  
mar aon táruill a toṡa  
ir cpaob áluinn fionnola,

Ro áirríor éall a tpeaba  
Ro áirrí mé a meirgeabá;  
mar táio vionṡna na tpeab tce,  
feap cá n-íomóba anaiténe? áitene.

17 i bflaitéar Domnail mic Aóda ríóṡ éireann ar a  
ladhramaoio fuairéar na naoim-re ríor báí .i. Moéua vo  
flíóct Oíliolla mic Caéaoirí mórí vo beannuíṡ i tceac  
2070 Moéua i laoirí, asur Moéua i Molairé leirṡlinne vo  
bí vo flíóct Conail Ṣulban mic Néill naoíṡiallaíṡ, asur

The tribe of Zabulon, of the bright girdles,  
The figure of their ensign was a laden ship ;  
It was usual on the shallow waves  
For all to be in their laden ships.

The figure of a wild ox, short-flanked, swift,  
Had the tribe of Neptalem, the venomous ;  
Of the tribe that practised the fury of wrath  
The warriors round their ready ensign were not few.

The ensign of the tribe of Gad, in conflict,  
Was as the figure of a lioness ;  
Nor have we deemed timorous in the time of wrathful fury  
Each warrior following the great ensign.

An ensign like a bull with constant strength,  
In the east had the tribe of renowned Joseph ;  
It is well known that vultures sought  
The bold, glorious race.

The tribe of Benjamin, of swift vigour,  
Its ensign was above ensigns ;  
An ensign like the ravening wolf,  
Ruddiness in the glorious feast.

The tribe of Dan, stubborn the race,  
A venomous family of a sinister house,  
Powerful to strike back, as it implies,  
Like a great serpent, its ensign.

The tribe of Aser, not stinted in herds,  
An ensign they clung to like a garment ;  
Its choice was identical with  
A beautiful fair olive branch.

I have enumerated their tribes above,  
I have enumerated their ensigns ;  
The enumeration of the abodes of the spirited tribes,  
How many men are ignorant of ? I know.

It was in the reign of Domhnall, son of Aodh, king of Ireland, of whom we are treating, that the following saints died, to wit, Mochua, of the race of Oilill, son of Cathaoir Mor, who lived and blessed in Teach Mochua in Laoighis, and Mochudha and Maolaise of Leithghlinn, who were of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach and

Comhóán mac Da Cearna agus Cionán earraog Caonnoimha.  
 Agus fuair Domnall mac Aoða mic Ainmiread ní Éireann  
 báir.

## XIV.

2075 Do gab Conall Caol i Ceallaic dá mac Maoilcoba  
 mic Aoða mic Ainmiread mic Séadna mic Feargura Ceann-  
 fona mic Conaill Sulban mic Néill Naosigiallaig vo fiol  
 Éireamóin míogad Éireann. Trí bliadhna déag dóib i  
 2080 scoilflaitear. I n-a bflaitear fuair Cuanna mac Cailcín  
 ní bfeairmaidige .i. Laoic Liathmaine báir; agus fá fear com-  
 aimirpe vo Suairpe mac Colmáin an Cuanna-ro, agus vo  
 bí coimhnear oiníg i raonnaicta eatorra; sonad uime rin  
 vo rinne an dá óinmíro .i. Comhóán i Conall an rian  
 leatad iomairbáda eatorra arian, mar a n-abairt:

2085

Uáil gac neic dá mbí 'n-a láim;  
 Do-ní Suairpe mac Colmáin;  
 A rian féin da gac nouine  
 Uáiltear lé Laoic Liathmaine.

I n-a bflaitear fót vo marbad Raḡallac mac Uadac  
 2090 vo bí 'n-a míg Connaict cúig bliadhna ar fíctio lé Maoil-  
 bhríge mac Moelacáin i lé n-a míogab. I amhlaid vo  
 bí an Raḡallac-ro lán o'fuaic i o'fóimao mé mac veap-  
 bhrácar fá rine ioná féin, o'eagla go otioctad fá n-a  
 bhrágar vo buain míge Connaict ve. Sídeat ní bfuair  
 2095 áriac ar mac a veapbhrácar vo marbad; go otáinig ve  
 rin suir gab reinglige é tpe neamhaiteam bí tpe fóimao  
 mé mac a veapbhrácar. Tairp rin vo cuir teacta i  
 noáil a bhrácar 'ga iarrat ar teact da féacáin. Dála  
 an bhrácar vo cúig cealg Raḡallais i vo cuir tionól  
 2100 ar rluag i céro i noáil a bhrácar Raḡallais, agus ar



Comhdhan, son of Da Cearda, and Cronan, bishop of Caondrom. And Domhnall, son of Aodh, son of Ainmire, king of Ireland, died.

#### XIV.

Conall Caol and Ceallach, two sons of Maolcobha, son of Aodh, son of Ainmire, son of Seadna, son of Fearghus Ceannfhoda, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland. They reigned together for thirteen years. It was in their reign that Cuanna, son of Cailchin, king of Fearmaighe, that is, Laoch Liathmhaine, died, and this Cuanna was a contemporary of Guaire, son of Colman, and there was a rivalry between them in hospitality and charity; and hence the two jesters, Comhdan and Conall, composed between them this stanza on their rivalry, in which they say:

Everything that is in his hand  
Guaire son of Colman bestows,  
What each one covets is given him  
By the Warrior of Liathmhain.

It was, moreover, in their reign that Raghallach, son of Udaidh, who was king of Connaught twenty-five years, was slain by Maoilbrighde, son of Mothlachan, and by his slaves. It happened thus: this Raghallach was full of hatred and envy towards the son of an elder brother, fearing lest he might oppose him and deprive him of the kingdom of Connaught. Still he found no opportunity of slaying his brother's son, so that he was wasting away through not taking food because of his envy of his brother's son. Moreover, he sent a messenger to his kinsman, asking him to come and see him. As to the kinsman, he understood Raghallach's deceit, and he assembled a company and went to meet his kinsman Raghallach; and as he went into his

noul do látaíri tug ar a muinntir a gcloíomé do beir nóet  
 fá n-a gcoimib aca, agus marí do éonnaíre Raḡallaḡ rín  
 aoubairt, "Ír tpuas an tí ír annra liom ran bíoḡ, agus ír  
 mian liom do beir 'n-a oíḡne oram, naḡ taobaḡ leir mé, ír  
 2105 mé mé huḡt báiḡ." Marí do éuala iomorpio an bprátaí rín.  
 táinḡ a époirḡe go móri aír. agus táinḡ 'n-a uaḡaḡ ar 'n-a  
 mḡmaḡ va fíor, ír línḡio muinntear Raḡallaḡ aír gur  
 marbaḡ leo é. Leir rín do éirḡ Raḡallaḡ rlan an tráḡ  
 roin ír do ḡab aḡ fíeaḡuḡaḡ go rubaḡ forbpráilteac. Do  
 2110 fíarpuis iomorpio Muirpeann .i. bean Raḡallaḡ va oraoi  
 iar marbaḡ a bprátaí do Raḡallaḡ an maibe guair 'n-a  
 cionn. Aoubairt an oraoi ó do marb Raḡallaḡ a bprátaí  
 go otioḡaḡ a mbár araoi va gclonn féin go luḡ; agus  
 fór gurab von ḡein do bi 'n-a bpoinn do éioḡaḡ a mbár.  
 2115 Do nóet ríre rín do Raḡallaḡ, agus aoubairt ma iar  
 mbneir na ḡeine a marbaḡ do látaíri.

Rug Muirpeann inḡean ír do éuir i mála í, go otuḡaḡ.  
 do muicirḡ va muinntir va marbaḡ í. Ó do éonnaíre an  
 muicirḡ ḡnúir na naoríeine, táinḡ a époirḡe uirre, ír do.  
 2120 éuir ran mála céaḡna 'n-a bfuair ó n-a mátaíri í, ír puḡ  
 ór íreḡ go orpur mḡa cpráibḡeíre do bi 'n-a foḡaíri í, agus  
 fḡḡbair ar beinn epoirḡe láim mé teac na mḡa maḡalta an  
 mála. Táinḡ an bean maḡalta gur an mála, agus marí  
 fuair an naoríin ann ḡprábuḡir í go móri ír do oil go.  
 2125 heaḡlurta í. Agus ní maibe i nḡeipunn 'n-a comairirí  
 ḡein ba ríamḡa ioná í, ionnur go otáinḡ a clú go  
 Raḡallaḡ, ír do éuir teacḡ va harpráir ar a buimḡ; ír  
 níorí faom an buimeac rín. Rugaḡ iar roin ar éirḡin éirḡe  
 í, ír marí do éonnaíre í do lion va ḡpráḡ, ír do bíoḡ aḡe  
 2130 'n-a leannán leaprḡa. ḡabair iomorpio éao a bean féin .i.  
 Muirpeann, ír téir go piḡ éirpeann do éapaoir an ḡníoma



presence he directed his party to wear their swords unsheathed at their waists, and when Raghallach saw this he said: "It is sad that he whom I love most dearly on earth, and whom I wish to make my heir, trusts me not, though I am at the point of death." Now, when his kinsman heard this he was greatly afflicted at heart, and he came alone next day to see him, and Raghallach's party sprang upon him and slew him. Thereupon Raghallach got up in health on the spot and set to feasting merrily and most pleasantly. But Muireann, that is, Raghallach's wife, inquired of her druid after Raghallach had slain his kinsman whether there was trouble in store for her. The druid said that since Raghallach had slain his kinsman, both their deaths would be speedily brought about by their own children; and, moreover, that it was the child in her womb who would bring about their death. She made this known to Raghallach, and he told her to kill the child immediately after its birth.

Muireann gave birth to a daughter, and put her into a bag with a view to giving her to one of her people, a swineherd, that he might kill her. When the swineherd saw the face of the infant his heart yearned towards it, and he put it in the same bag in which he got it from its mother and took it privately to the door of a pious woman, who was near at hand, and left the bag on one of the arms of a cross that was near the pious woman's house. The pious woman came upon the bag, and when she found the infant in it she loved it greatly and reared it religiously. And there was not in Ireland in her time a more beautiful girl, so that her fame reached Raghallach, and he sent messengers asking her of her nurse. But the nurse did not grant this request. After this she was brought to him by force, and when he saw her he became greatly in love with her and he had her as a concubine. Now his own wife, Muireann, became jealous, and went to the king of Ireland to complain of this



roin. Ráinig tría míoclú an uile rin fá éirinn, ir fá  
 uochraó pé naoimib éiréann rin, agus táinig feicín fabair  
 o'ionnruige Raḡallaiḡ va coiriuḡaó, ir tãḡḡaḡar naomh  
 2135 iomrã maille iur va iarruãḡ ari rcaiaó iur an ole roin.  
 Agus níor léis úe oirra uile é, cia vo éirioirioo ari.  
 Siḡeaó mar rabaó vo ḡaomib ainmianaḡa oile, vo ḡuioirioo  
 na naomh Dia fá ḡan eiréan vo marḡain an bealltaine ba  
 neaḡa úóib, agus a éuitim lé oioḡḡaomib, agus fór lé  
 2140 harmaib veapóile agus i n-ionaó fálaḡ; agus carlaḡar  
 rin uile úó pé huḡt na bealltaine. Fiaó alita iomorrio  
 iari n-a lot carla ari riuãḡan ran oileán 'n-a maibe  
 Raḡallaḡ ir é aḡ coiméaḡ na hinre, agus mar vo connairec  
 an fiaó vo ḡaḡ a ḡa ir tug uirḡar von fiaó ḡuiri éuir an ḡa  
 2145 éirio. Téio an fiaó ari rñám uaió, agus vo éuaió-rean i  
 ḡcoite 'n-a úiaio, ir téio an fiaó real ón loḡ ḡo vcarla é  
 pé moḡaib vo bí aḡ buain móna ir marḡaio an fiaó ir  
 iannaio eacóirra é. Táinig Raḡallaḡ va n-ionnruige ir  
 vo iunne baḡar oirra tré ioinn an fiaóa agus aḡuḡaie  
 2150 iú an feoil o'aireaḡ. Ir eaó iomorrio vo cinneaó leir na  
 moḡaib an pí vo marḡaó; agus leir rin vo ḡabaḡar va  
 rámaib ir vã ráraib oile ari, ḡuiri marḡaḡar é, amail vo  
 cairrḡḡieaó leir na naoimib úó. Agus ruair Muiréann  
 .i. a beaḡ báḡ tré éaḡ pé n-a hinḡin féin.

2155 Ir rán am-ro tugaó Caḡ Cairn Conaill lé Diairmaio  
 mac Aoḡa Sláine, áit ari marḡaó Cuan mac Amalḡuio vo  
 bí 'n-a piḡ Muḡan veic mbliãḡna, agus Cuan mac Conaill  
 pí Ó bḡiḡḡinnte agus Talamonaḡ pí Ó Liaḡáin; agus ir  
 tré ḡuioḡ coimḡionóil Ciaráin i ḡCluain Mic Nóir iur  
 2160 Diairmaio buaió an éaḡa roin. Agus iari vteaḡt cari ari  
 vo Diairmaio ḡo Cluain Mic Nóir vo bḡonn fearann von  
 eaglaḡ rin mar fúo pé haltóiri. Agus ir é ainm an  
 fearainn rin aniu Liaḡ Manḡáin, agus ir i ḡCluain Mic

deed. And the scandal of this evil deed spread through Ireland, and the saints of Ireland were pained thereat, and Feichin Fabhair came to Raghallach and charged him, and many saints came with him and entreated him to give up this sin. But he did not give it up for them all, though they fasted on his account. However, as a warning to other people of inordinate desires, the saints prayed God that he should not be alive the Bealltaine following, and that he should fall by wicked people, and, moreover, by puny arms and in a squalid spot; and all these things befel him on the approach of Bealltaine. For a wild deer which had been wounded came helter skelter into the island in which Raghallach was, and which *he was guarding*, and as he saw the deer he laid hold of his javelin and made a cast of it at the animal and pierced it through therewith. The deer swam away from him and he followed it in a skiff, and the deer went some distance from the lake and came upon slaves, who were cutting turf, and they slew the deer and divided it between them. Ragallach came up to them and threatened them for having divided the deer, and asked them to give back the venison. But the slaves resolved to slay the king, and thereupon they attacked him with their oars and other implements, and slew him as was foretold regarding him by the saints. And Muireann, his wife, died through jealousy of her own daughter.

It was about this time that the Battle of Carn Conaill was fought by Diarmaid, son of Aodh Slaine, wherein Cuan, son of Amhalghuidh, who was king of Munster ten years, and Cuan, son of Conall, king of Ui Fidhgheinte, and Talamonach, king of Ui Liathain, were slain; and it was through the prayer of Ciaran's community at Cluain Mic Nois that Diarmaid won that battle. And when Diarmaid returned to Cluain Mic Nois he bestowed land on that church as altar-land. And the name of that land at this day is Liath Mhanchain, and it was at Cluain Mic Nois



noir vo fágaib Diaimair é féin v'adnacal an tan vo-  
 2165 gédabú bár. Ir fán am-ro fuair fuppa naomta vo flioct  
 luigóeac láma veapbrácar Oiliolla Óluim bár, agus  
 Moiceallós an naom vo beannuis i gcill Moiceallós;  
 agus ir ar flioct Conaire mic Eoirpceoil vo bí an naom-  
 ro. Da éir rin vo tuit Ceallac fán bpuig ór boinn agus  
 2170 vo marbbaó Conall Caol léDiaimair mac Aodú Sláine.

Vo gab bláitmac ir Diaimair Ruanuio dá mac Aodú  
 Sláine mic Diaimara mic Feargura Ceirpbeoil mic  
 Conaill Éreámáinne mic Néill naoigiallaig vo fiol  
 Éireamóin píođact Éireann feact mbliadna i gcomflaitear;  
 2175 agus ir 'n-a bflaitear tugab Caé Pancti lé Horra, áit ar  
 tuit pí Sacran mar don pí tpioctao tigeapna va muinntir.  
 Ir fán am-ro fuair Ulltán naomta bár agus Maodós  
 Fearna mac Séadna mic Eirc mic Fearadúig mic Fiacrae  
 mic Amalgúio mic Muiradúig mic Carréainn mic Eirc mic  
 2180 Eodac mic Colla Uair, agus Cuimin foda mac Fiacna, an  
 naom, agus Maonac mac Fingín pí Mumán. Fuair Diai-  
 mair Ruanuio ir bláitmac bár von pláig va ngeirtear an  
 buioe Conaill.

Vo gab Seacnapac mac bláitmic mic Aodú Sláine mic  
 2185 Diaimara mic Feargura Ceirpbeoil mic Conaill Éreám-  
 áinne mic Néill naoigiallaig vo fiol Éireamóin píođact  
 Éireann fé bliadna. Ir i bflaitear an píg-re tugab Caé  
 Feirc ioir Ulltaib ir Éruitnig, áit ar marbbaó ioma vo  
 óaoiob va gac leit. Ir fán am-ro fuair Baoitín abb  
 2190 beanncair bár. Da éir rin vo tuit Seacnapac pí Éireann  
 lé Dub nDúin vo Cínéal gCairbre.

Vo gab Ceannpaolair mac bláitmic mic Aodú Sláine  
 mic Diaimara mic Feargura Ceirpbeoil mic Conaill  
 Éreámáinne mic Néill naoigiallaig vo fiol Éireamóin



that Diarmaid willed that he should be buried after his death. It was about this time that St. Fursa, of the race of Lughaidh Lamha, brother of Oilill Olum, died, and also Moicheallog, the saint, who lived and blessed at Cill Moicheallog; and this saint was of the race of Conaire, son of Eidsceol. After this Ceallach fell at the Brugh on the Boyne, and Conall Caol was slain by Diarmaid, son of Aodh Slaine.

Blathmhac and Diarmaid Ruanuidh, two sons of Aodh Slaine, son of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, son of Conall Creamthainne, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held jointly the sovereignty of Ireland seven years; and it was in their reign that Hossa fought the Battle of Pancti, where fell the king of Sacsá and thirty lords of his people. It was about this time that St. Ulltan died, and Maodhog of Fearná, son of Seadna, son of Earc, son of Fearadhach, son of Fiachraidh, son of Amhalghuidh, son of Muireadhach, son of Carrthann, son of Earc, son of Eochaidh, son of Colla Uais, and Cuimin Foda, son of Fiachna the saint, and Maonach, son of Finghin, king of Munster. Diarmaid Ruanuidh and Blathmhac died of the plague called the Buidhe Conaill.

Seachnasach, son of Blathmhac, son of Aodh Slaine, son of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, son of Conall Creamthainne, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland six years. It was in the reign of this king that the Battle of Feart took place between the Ulstermen and the Cruithnigh, wherein there were many slain on both sides. It was about this time that Baoithin, abbot of Beannchair, died. After this Seachnasach, king of Ireland, fell by Dubh nDuin, of the Cineal Cairbre.

Ceannfaolaidh, son of Blathmhac, son of Aodh Slaine, son of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, son of Conall Creamthainne, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of

- 2195 níosáct Éireánn ceitipe bliána. Agus ir 'n-a flaitéar  
 vo loirceadú beanncáir ir vo marbhad a cómteionól lé  
 heactpánncaib. Agus ir uime gairítear beanncáir von  
 áit rin, bpearfal bpeac ní laigean vo éuair líon fluaḡ vo  
 épeadad Alban, go utuz iomav buair ir bóctáinte leir i  
 2200 nÉirinn, agus iar uteact i utir vó féin ir va fluaḡ vo  
 rinneadú forlongpóit leo ran áit va ngairítear beanncáir  
 anoir, ir marbtear iomav vo na buair leo marí feolmáde, go  
 ráinis iomav v'adaircaib na mbó nó va mbeanncaib fead  
 an mácaipe, go ráinis Maḡ beanncáir v'ainm ar an áit ve  
 2205 rin. Agus ainmtear iméian va éir rin an tan vo éogair an  
 t-abb naomta Comḡall mainirtear ran áit éeavna, tuz fá  
 veapra a flonnadú ón áit ionar tógadú i, zonad uime rin  
 ráirítear mainirtear beanncáir ma. Go gnov i noisair  
 loircte na mainirtead-ro v'allmuppcaib vo marbadú  
 2210 Ceannpaolair ní Éireann lé fionnacta fleadad mac  
 Donncaida i gCaé Cealltíad.

Vo gab fionnacta fleadad mac Donncaida mic Aoda  
 Sláine vo fiol Éireamóin níosáct Éireann feact mbliána;  
 agus ir 'n-a flaitéar vo-níci iomav flead ir féartaú i  
 2215 nÉirinn, zonad uime rin gairítear fionnacta fleadad ve.  
 Ir 'n-a flaitéar fór fuair Colmán earpog Inre bó finne  
 báir, agus fionán vo beannuig i náirv fionáin; agus ir ar  
 fliocht fiaadé Muilleadain vo bí an fionán poin; agus  
 fuair Arannán naomta báir. Ir é fionnacta vo éuir Caé  
 2220 Loéa Gabair ar laigrib, áit ar éuit iomav vo laigrib leir.  
 Ir 'n-a flaitéar fuair Ceannpaolair na foḡluma báir, ir vo  
 loirceadú Dúnḡal mac Scannail ní Cuiúnead, agus Ceann-  
 paolair ní Ciannacta ḡlinne Seimean, lé Maolvuin mic  
 Maolfríctis i nDún Ceitirín. Ir 'n-a flaitéar fór tugadar  
 2225 bpeactairis fuair i nÉirinn, vo péir beva ran 26 cabairil  
 von éeapmáad leabair. Táinis taoiréad fluairis níos vo



Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland four years. And it was in his reign that Beannchair was burned, and its community slain by foreigners. And the reason why this place is called Beannchair is this, Breasal Breac, king of Leinster, went with a full host to plunder Alba, and brought much cattle and herds with him to Ireland, and when himself and his host came to land they built a camp in the place which is now called Beannchair, and they killed many of the cows for meat, and many of the cows' horns, or *beanna*, remained throughout the plain; and hence the place was given the name of Magh Beannchair. And a long time after that, when the holy abbot Comhghall built a monastery in the same place he ordered that it be named from the place in which it was built, and hence it is called the Monastery of Beannchair. Soon after the foreigners had burned this monastery, Ceannfaolaidh, king of Ireland, was slain by Fionnachta Fleadhach, son of Donnchadh, in the Battle of Cealltair.

Fionnachta Fleadhach, son of Donnchadh, son of Aodh Slaine, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland seven years; and in his reign many banquets and feasts used to take place in Ireland, hence he is called Fionnachta Fleadhach. It was, too, in his reign that Colman, bishop of Inis Bo Finne, died, and Fionan, who lived and blessed in Ard Fionain; and this Fionan was of the race of Fiachaidh Muilleathan; and St. Arannan died. It was Fionnachta who won the Battle of Loch Gabhair against the Leinstermen, wherein many of the Leinstermen fell by him. It was in his reign that Ceannfaolaidh, the learned, died, and Dunghal, son of Scannal, king of the Cruithnigh, and Ceannfaolaidh, king of Ciannachta Ghlinne Geimhean, were burned by Maolduin, son of Maoilfithrigh, in Dun Ceitheirn. It was in his reign, moreover, that the British made an incursion into Ireland, according to Beda in the 26th chapter of the fourth book. The leader of the



a Berthur vastavit misere gentem innoxam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam.

host of the king of Sacsá, whose name was Egberthus, the leader's name being Berthus, came and plundered a large part of Ireland, in the age of the Lord 684. Thus does Beda lament this deed: "Berthus plundered deplorably an inoffensive nation and one ever most friendly to the people or race of Sacsá." And they fought the Battle of Raith Mor in Magh Line, wherein they slew Cumascach, king of the Cruithnigh, together with a large body of Gaels. Moreover, the Britons went thence on an expedition to the Orcades and plundered that island. A company of them also landed in the east of Leinster, and they plundered churches and country districts, and they returned after having committed much spoiling and plundering. Here is a stanza that Adhamnan composed for Fionnachta when he remitted the Boraimhe to Molaing:

Fionnachta, son of Donnchadh,  
Remitted much to a saint:  
Thrice fifty hundred chained cows,  
And each cow with her calf.

Soon after that Fionnachta, king of Ireland, was slain by Aodh, son of Duitheach, and by Conghalach, son of Conaing, at Greallach Doluidh.

## XV.

Do gab Loingreac mac Dongura mic Domnaill mic  
 Aoda mic Ainmireac do fíol Éireamóin píoḡaḡt Éireann  
 2250 oḡt mbliadúna. 1r 'n-a flaitear táinig Aodamnán a hAlbain  
 go héirinn do feanmóir, 1r fuair Moling Luadra bár, 1r  
 do cheadaḡ Maḡ Muirteimne lé bheadnaḡaib. 1r i  
 bflaitear an piḡ-pe carla bo-ár móir i Sacraib 1r i néirinn,  
 1r carla ḡorta tpi mbliadán i néirinn, go mbíoir na daoine  
 2255 aḡ ite a céile innte an tpiḡt roin. 1r fán am roin táinig  
 Eḡberthur naomta do feanmóir go hAlbain, aḡur fuair  
 Muireadúac Muilleatan pi Connaḡt bár, 1r tugaḡ Caḡ  
 Maḡe Cuilinn lé hulltaḡaib ar bheadnaḡaib, aḡ ar tuit  
 iomaḡ do bheadnaḡaib ann. 1r fán am-ro fuair Aodamnán,  
 2260 abb í, bár i n-aoir a feaḡt mbliadán oḡaḡ 1r tpi piḡro; aḡur  
 do éadair na Sarpaceni fluaḡ líonmaḡ pi huḡt Conḡtan-  
 tionopuil go nvearnadair forlongḡort tpi mbliadán 'n-a  
 timḡeall. Tairir rin do éreḡeadair an caḡair ḡan a  
 ḡabáil. Da éir rin fuair Coibḡean earpoḡ Aroa Spaḡ  
 2265 bár. Go ḡroo 'n-a óiaró rin tugaḡ Caḡ Corainn lé Ceallac  
 mac Raḡallaiḡ do bi 'n-a piḡ Connaḡt feaḡt mbliadúna,  
 aḡ ar maḡbaḡ Loingreac mac Dongura pi Éireann leir.  
 Do gab Congal Ceannmaḡair mac Fearḡura Fánar mic  
 Conaill ḡulban mic Néill Naoiḡiollaiḡ do fíol Éireamóin  
 2270 píoḡaḡt Éireann naoi mbliadúna. 1r leir an ḡCongal-ro  
 do loirceadú Cill Dara uile roir eadḡair 1r tuait. ḡiḡeacú  
 carla bár obann donuairie oḡ féin tpiḡr an nḡníom roin.

Do gab Fearḡal mac Maoileoúin mic Maoilfítepiḡ mic  
 Aoda Uairioḡnaiḡ mic Domnaill mic Muirceairtaiḡ mic  
 2275 Muireadúaiḡ mic Eoḡain mic Néill Naoiḡiallaiḡ do fíol  
 Éireamóin píoḡaḡt Éireann feaḡt mbliadúna oḡaḡ. Ceacḡ  
 inḡean Ceallaiḡ mic Maoilcoba pi Cinéil ḡConaill fá  
 máḡair von Fearḡal-ro. 1r 'n-a flaitear iomaḡro fuair



## XV.

Loingseach, son of Aonghus, son of Domhnall, son of Aodh, son of Ainmire, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland eight years. It was in his reign that Adhamnan came from Alba to Ireland to preach, and Moling, of Luachair, died, and Magh Muirtheimhne was plundered by the Welsh. It was in the reign of this king that a great cow-plague existed in Sacsá and in Ireland, and there was a famine for three years in Ireland, so that the people devoured one another there at this time. It was about this time that St. Egberthus went to preach to Alba, and Muireadhach Muilleathan, king of Connaught, died, and the Ulstermen won the Battle of Magh Cuilinn over the Britons, where many Britons fell. It was about this time that Adhamnan, abbot of I, died, aged seventy-seven years, and the Saracens, with a numerous host, laid siege to Constantinople and built a three years' encampment around it. After this they raised the siege. After this Coibhdhean, bishop of Ard Srath, died. Soon after this the Battle of Corann was fought by Ceallach, son of Raghallach, who was king of Connaught for seven years, wherein he slew Loingseach, son of Aonghus, king of Ireland.

Conghal Ceanmhaghair, son of Fearghus Fanad, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland nine years. It was this Conghal who burned all Cill Dara, both church and district. But he himself got a sudden and instant death after this event.

Fearghal, son of Maoilduin, son of Maoilfhithrigh, son of Aodh Uairiodhnach, son of Domhnall, son of Muir-cheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland seventeen years. Ceacht, daughter of Ceallach, son of Maolcobha, king of Cineal Conaill, was this Fearghal's mother. And it was in his reign that Baodan, bishop of

baothán earpos Inre bó finne báir, agus tugad cat roir  
 2280 Óal Riada ir bpeactaig ran áic va ngairtear Cloc  
 mionnuiric, ir vo bpead vo bpeactaib ann. Ir fán  
 am-ro vo víbir neactain ní Alban cométionól manaé tar  
 oirim bpeactan, tré beic ag faigil locta 'n-a ainmian-  
 aib.

2285 Ir i bflaitear an níg-re vo fearaó na trí fpara ó  
 máirtear Niall fparaé, vo bpiú supab lé linn na bfiar  
 nó na gceat roim vo éur iugad é; fpar meala ar foctain  
 bíg ir fpar aigis ar foctain móir, fpar folá ar mairg  
 laigean. Ir fán am-ro tugad cat Almuine roir mupéad  
 2290 mac brian vo bí 'n-a níg laigean cúig bliadna déag agus  
 feargal mac Maoileóuin ní éireann, agus ir é lion fluaí  
 táinig ní éireann sup an gceat roim .i. mile ir ríde; agus  
 ir é lion táinig ní laigean ann naoi mile, agus oit bpiro  
 ppiom-laoé i utimceall éurp an níg féin ag vol ran cat.  
 2295 bpirotear iomorro an cat ar níg éireann, ir vo éuadai vā  
 éeao ir naonbair ir trí rídeoi ngealtacé va muinntir, agus  
 maibéar trí mile ir vā éeao víob; agus orong eile aoiri  
 sup maibad faéat mile víob. Ir é ráé fá utáinig an  
 miopac roim ar níg éireann, né huét triallta vo tabairt  
 2300 Caéa Almaine téio orong va muinntir o'arigain eagailre  
 va ngairtear Cillín, ir beirio ar éigin leo aonbó vo bí ag  
 víépeabac na heagailre rin, agus malluigir an víépeabac  
 roim an ní go n-a fluaí, agus va bícin rin tarla miopac  
 caéa víob; ir vo éuit ní éireann ir iomao va muinntir ann,  
 2305 amail aoubriamari éuar.

Vo gab fogaipac mac Néill mic Ceajnaig Sotail mic  
 Diarmada mic Aoóa Sláine vo ríol éireamóin nioíacé  
 éireann aoinbliadain amáin, sup éuit lé Cionaot mac  
 Iorígalais i gceat beilge.

2310 Vo gab Cionaot mac Iorígalais mic Conaing Cúirnaig



Inis Bo Finne, died, and a battle was fought between the Dal Riada and the Britons in the place called Cloch Mhionnuirc, and the Britons were defeated there. It was about this time that Neachtain, king of Alba, expelled a community of monks from Britain for animadverting on his vices.

It was in the reign of this king that there fell the three showers from which Niall Frasach is named, as he was born when these freasa or showers fell; a shower of honey on Fothain Bheag and a shower of silver on Fothain Mhor and a shower of blood on Magh Laighean. It was about this time that the Battle of Almuin was fought between Murchadh, son of Bran, who was fifteen years king of Leinster, and Fearghal, son of Maolduin, king of Ireland; and the host the king of Ireland brought to that battle amounted to twenty-one thousand, and the host the king of Leinster brought there amounted to nine thousand and eight score chosen warriors as a bodyguard to the king himself when going into the battle. And the king of Ireland was defeated in the battle, and two hundred and sixty-nine of his people were seized with frenzy, and three thousand two hundred of them were slain; and others say that seven thousand of them were slain. The reason why this disaster befel the king of Ireland was that when he was on the point of setting out to fight the Battle of Almhain a party of his followers went to plunder a church called Cillin, and carried off by force the one cow that the solitary hermit of that church had and the hermit cursed the king and his host, and hence they met reverse in battle; and the king of Ireland fell there with many of his people, as we have said above.

Fogharthach, son of Niall, son of Cearnach Sotal, son of Diarmaid, son of Aodh Slaine, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland one year, and fell by Cionaoth, son of Iorghalach, in the Battle of Beilge.

Cionaoth, son of Iorghalach, son of Conuing Currach,



mic Congail mic Doúa Sláine vo fíol Éireamóin níosáct  
 Éireann ceitíre bliadna. 1r 1 bflaitéar an nís-ge tugad  
 tairé Adamnáin a hálbain 1 nÉirinn. Va éir rin tugad  
 Cat Orpoma Corráin lé flaitébeartaic mac Loingris ar  
 2315 Cionaoic mic Iorǵalaig, áit ar éuit Cionaoic ní Éireann asur  
 ioma vo óaoiñib marí don nír.

Vo ǵab flaitébeartaic mac Loingris mic Dongura mic  
 Domnaill mic Doúa mic Ainmireac vo fíol Éireamóin  
 níosáct Éireann reáct mbliadna. Muireann ingean  
 2320 Cealllaig mátair an flaitébeartaig-ge. 1r 1 bflaitéar an  
 nís-ge vo piérí beva tugad Cat Orpoma Deirig 1 nÁlbain  
 ioiri Orpurt 1r Dongur, vā nís na Scruiteac, fá iomcórnañ  
 na chíce, asur vo éuit Orpurt asur ioma vo muinntirí ann.

Asur ǵo ǵiob va éir rin tugad Cat Muirbuilg ioiri  
 2325 Óál Riava 1r na Pictib .i. na Cruiteig, áit ar marbad  
 ioma vo na Pictib ann. 1r fán am-ro tugad Cat Fotaicta  
 1 Muirteimne lé hDoú Olláin 1r lé clannaib Néill ar  
 Ulltaicib, áit ar marbad Doú Róin vo bí 'n-a nís Ulaú  
 triócávo bliadán asur Concávo mac Cuanaic ní Coda. Va  
 2330 éir rin fuair flaitébeartaic mac Loingris ní Éireann báir 1  
 nÁro Máca.

Vo ǵab Doú Ollán mac Fearǵaile mic Maoileodúin mic  
 Maoilféirig mic Doúa Uaimioúnaig mic Domnaill mic  
 Muirbeartaig mic Muireadúig mic Eogáin mic Néill  
 2335 Naoidiallaig vo fíol Éireamóin níosáct Éireann naoi  
 mbliadna. Buiǵe ingean Orca mic Capitáinn mátair Doú  
 Olláin. 1r 1 bflaitéar an Doú-ro tugad Cat Bealaig  
 féile ioiri an Muíain 1r Laigin, áit ar éuit ioma vo  
 Muimneacib 1r vo Laiginib ann, marí don pi Ceallac mac

son of Conghal, son of Aodh Slaine, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland four years. It was in the reign of this king that the relics of Adhamnan were brought from Alba to Ireland. After that the Battle of Drom Corrain was won by Flaithbheartach, son of Loingseach, against Cionaeth, son of Iorghalach, where Cionaeth, king of Ireland, fell, and many of his people along with him.

Flaithbheartach, son of Loingseach, son of Aonghus, son of Domhnall, son of Aodh, son of Airmire, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland seven years. Muireann, daughter of Ceallach, was the mother of this Flaithbheartach. It was in the reign of this king, according to Beda, that the Battle of Drom Dearg, in Alba, was fought between Drust and Aonghus, two kings of the Cruithnigh, for the mastery of the country, and Drust and many of his people fell there.

And soon after that was fought the Battle of Murbholg between the Dal Riada and the Picts, that is, the Cruithnigh, wherein many of the Picts were killed. It was about this time that the Battle of Fotharta, in Muirtheimhne, was won by Aodh Ollan and by the clann Neill against the Ultonians, wherein Aodh Roin, who was thirty years king of Ulster, and Conchadh, son of Cuana, king of Cobha, were slain. After this Flaithbheartach, son of Loingseach, king of Ireland, died at Ard Macha.

Aodh Ollan, son of Fearghal, son of Maolduin, son of Maoilfithrigh, son of Aodh Uairiodhnach, son of Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland nine years. Brige, daughter of Orca, son of Carrthann, was mother of Aodh Ollan. It was in the reign of this Aodh that the Battle of Bealach Feile was fought between Munster and Leinster, wherein fell many Munstermen and Leinstermen, together with Ceallach, son of Faolchur, king of Osruighe. It was



2340 **F**aolcuir ní Orpuiḡe. Caṡal mac Fionḡaine ní Muḡan  
puḡ buaio an ḡaṡa ioin.

Da éir rin tuḡ **A**onḡur mac Feapḡura ní na bḡict  
puaiḡ ir maioim ar **U**ál Riada i na lbain, ḡur haiḡeao  
ir ḡur cpeaṡao leir iao ir ḡur loirc **U**ín Cpeige; aḡur  
2345 **U**o ḡaṡao **U**onngal ir Feapḡur, oá mac Sealbuiṡe ní  
**U**ál Riada leir, aḡur oó cuir i ngéibeann iao. Ir fán  
am-ro tarla oál iuir **A**oó **O**llán ní Éipeann ir Caṡal  
mac Fionḡaine niḡ Muḡan aḡ **T**iri oá ḡlar i nUiriuḡain,  
mar ar horpuiḡeao peaoṡ ir oḡiḡe ir cior **P**áoraiḡ ar  
2350 Éirinn leo. Ir ḡearir 'n-a oiaio rin ḡo oṡuḡao Caṡ áṡa  
Seannaiḡ .i. Caṡ **U**ébaio iuir **A**oó **O**llán niḡ Éipeann ir  
**A**oó mac Colḡan niḡ Laiḡean, áic ar triomḡonaó **A**oó  
**O**llán ir ar maibao **A**oó mac Colḡan aḡur **U**rian beaḡ  
mac Muḡaṡa leirí Laiḡean ir iomaṡ o'uairlib Laiḡean  
2355 mar don niú, ḡur cuiteaoar naoi míle oó Laiḡuib ann. Da  
éir rin fuair **F**lann mac Chonnḡaioil earpoḡ Reaṡpuinne  
bár, aḡur Caṡal mac Fionḡaine, ní Muḡan, ir **A**oó balb  
mac Innpeaṡaiḡ oó bí 'n-a niḡ Connaṡt peaoṡ mbliaoṡa,  
aḡur oó maibao **A**oó **O**llán ní Éipeann i ḡCaṡ Seiriuḡio.  
2360 i ḡCeannnur, lé **U**omnall mac Muḡaṡa.

**U**o ḡab **U**omnall mac Muḡaṡa mic **U**iarḡaṡa mic  
**A**irimeaoaiḡ **C**aoio mic Conaill ḡuibinn mic Suibne mic  
**C**olmáin **M**óir mic **U**iarḡaṡa mic Feapḡura Ceiribeoil mic  
Conaill **C**réamṡainne mic Néill **N**aoiḡiallaiḡ oó fiol  
2365 Éipeamóin niḡaṡt Éipeann oá bliaoain ir oá fíao.  
**A**ilpín ingean **C**omḡaill oó **U**ealbna **M**óir máṡair **U**om-  
naill mic Muḡaṡa niḡ Éipeann. Ir 'n-a bḡlaitear oó  
maibao **C**olmáin earpoḡ **L**aoráin lé hliḡ oTurṡaie, aḡur  
fuair **C**ormac earpoḡ áṡa **T**ruim bár. Ir fán am-ro oó  
2370 conaḡicar raḡailt naṡiaṡ neimie ar luamain ran aieor i aḡur



Cathal son of Fionghaine, king of Munster, who won that battle.

After this Aonghus, son of Fearghus, king of the Picts, routed and defeated the Dal Riada in Scotland, and he plundered and robbed them and burned Dun Creige; and he seized Donnghal and Fearghus, two sons of Sealbhuidhe, king of Dal Riada, and put them in prison. It was about this time that a meeting took place between Aodh Ollan, king of Ireland, and Cathal, son of Fionghaine, king of Munster, at Tir Daghlas, in Urmhumha, where they imposed Patrick's rule and law and tribute on Ireland. Soon after that the Battle of Ath Seannaigh, that is, the Battle of Uchbhadh, was fought between Aodh Ollan, king of Ireland, and Aodh, son of Colgan, king of Leinster, wherein Aodh Ollan, was severely wounded, and wherein fell Aodh, son of Colgan, and Bran Beag, son of Murchadh, half-king of Leinster, together with many Leinster nobles, and nine thousand Leinstermen fell there. After that Flann, son of Cronnmaol, bishop of Reachruinne, and Cathal son of Fionnghaine, king of Munster, and Aodh Balbh son of Innreachtach, who was the king of Connaught seven years, died; and Aodh Ollan, king of Ireland, was slain in the Battle of Seiridmheadh, that is at Ceanannus, by Domhnall son of Murchadh.

Domhnall, son of Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Airmeadhach Caoch, son of Conall Guithbhinn, son of Suibhne, son of Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, son of Conall Creamhthainne, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland forty-two years. Ailpin, daughter of Comhghall, of the Dealbhna Mor, was mother of Domhnall, son of Murchadh, king of Ireland. It was in his reign that Colman, bishop of Laosan, was slain by the Ui Turtaire, and Cormac, bishop of Ath Truim, died. It was about this time that the form of a serpent was seen in motion in

fuairi Seacnarae mac Colgan ní Ua gCinnrealaig báir, ir vo  
marbhad Caitearae mac Oiliollla ní Cmuineac i Rait Beir-  
eac lé laighnib. Ir i bflaitear an níg-je fuairi Suairleac  
eapros Fobairi báir agus Orbrán eapros Cluana Creamuró.

- 2375 Da éir rin tugad Caé Bealaig Cíó lé Cmuineann  
mac Éanna, áit ári éuit Fionn mac Aibh ag Tiobraio  
Finn agus tugad ári Bealbna uime, agus ar an ngníom  
roin gairtear loé an Bealaig Cíó von loé acá ran áit  
rin, agus Tobair Finn von tiobraio acá ran áit ceana.  
2380 Ir rán am-ro vo éuit Cumurac ní Ó bFáilge lé Maolúin  
mac Doóa beannáin, ní Muhan, agus fuairi Dongur, ní  
Alban, báir, ir tugad Caé Bealaig Gabráin lé mac  
Coincearca ní Oppuige ar Dúngal mac Laidgein ní Ua  
gCinnrealaig, áit ar marbhad Dúngal ir iomao o'uarlib  
2385 Laidgean mar don nír; agus fuairi Muircearac mac  
Muiréada ní Laidgean báir. Da éir rin fuairi Doimnall mac  
Muiréada céirpi Éireann vo éloinn Colmáin báir.

- Do gab Miall Fíarae mac Feargaile mic Maoléuáin  
mic Maolféirg mic Doóa Uairuónaig mic Doimnall mic  
2390 Muircearac mic Muiréadaig mic Eogain mic Néill  
Naioigiallaig vo fiol Éireamóin niozact Éireann ceirpe  
bliadna. Aitiocta ingean Céin Uí Concubairi nioz Cíann-  
aceta mádar Néill Fíaraig. Agus ir uime gairtear Miall  
Fíarae de, trí ceata vo fearad i nÉireann an tan rugad  
2395 é, fíair meala ar Fócain bíg ir fíair aigro ar Fócain  
Móir ir fíair fóla ar Mlaig Laidgean. Ionann iomorro  
fíair agus ciot. Ir i bflaitear an Néill-je fuairi Duib-  
ionnrae mac Caéil mic Muiréadaig Muilleacain vo bí  
'n-a níg Connaet cúig bliadna báir; agus capla marom  
2400 calman ir iomao gorta i nÉirinn, agus fuairi Dúngal mac



the air; and Seachnasach, son of Colgan, king of Ui Cinnsealaigh died; and Caitheasach, son of Oilioll, king of the Cruithinigh, was slain at Raith Beitheach by the Leinstermen. It was in the reign of this king that Suairleach, bishop of Fobhar, died, also Osbhran, bishop of Cluain Chreamhuidh.

After that was fought the Battle of Bealach Cro by Criomhthann, son of Eanna, where fell Fionn, son of Arb, at Tiobraid Fhinn, and the Dealbhna were slaughtered around him; and it is from this event that the lake in that place is called Loch an Bhealaigh Chro, and the well that is in the same place is called Tobar Finn. It was about this time that Cumascach, king of Ui Failghe, fell by Maolduin, son of Aodh Beannan, king of Munster, and Aonghus, king of Alba, died; and Mac Coinchearca, king of Osruighe, won the Battle of Bealach Gabhran against Dungal, son of Laidhghein, king of Ui Cinnsealaigh, wherein Dungal was slain, together with many of the Leinster nobles. And Muircheartach, son of Murchadh, king of Leinster, died. After this Domhnall, son of Murchadh, first king of Ireland of the clann Colmain, died.

Niall Frasach, son of Fearghal, son of Maolduin, son of Maoilfithrigh, son of Aodh Uairiodhnach, son of Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland four years. Aithiochta, daughter of Cian O Conchubhair king of Ciannachta, was the mother of Niall Frasach. And the reason why he is called Niall Frasach is that there fell three showers in Ireland when he was born—a shower of honey on Fothain Bheag and a shower of silver on Fothain Mhor and a shower of blood on Magh Leighean. And *frais* means a shower. It was in the reign of this Niall that Duibhionnracht, son of Cathal, son of Muireadhach Muilleathan, who was five years king of Connaught, died; and there was an earthquake and a great famine in Ireland, and Dungal,



Ceallaig ní Oirniuge báp. Da éir rin tugaó Caé Déaó  
 Liag iorí uib mhuin 17 uib Maine, áit ar éit iomaó  
 va gac leir; agur fuair Cronnmaol earpos Cille móire  
 báp, agur ailpín ní na bpiét agur dolgnac earpos Aroa  
 2405 bneacáin. So gnoo va éir rin vo éuaó Aitgáile mac  
 Caéail va oiliépe go hí Coluim Cille 1 nálbain; agur fuair  
 Feargus earpos Daímliaig báp; agur tugaó caé 1 gConann  
 iorí Cinéal gConaill 17 gCinéal Eógain, áit 1 rug Maol-  
 uúin mac Aoóa Olláin ní an fíola buaó, 17 vo bneacó  
 2410 vo Dóinnall mac Aoóa Muinveirg 17 vo marbaó iomaó  
 va muinntirí ann. Da éir rin fuair Maill Fíarac ní  
 Éireann báp 1 ní Coluim Cille 1 nálbain.

## XVI.

Do gab Donncaó Mac Dóinnall mic Muiréada mic  
 Diaimada mic Aimeadaig Cáoié mic Conaill gúibinn  
 2415 mic Suibne mic Colmáin Móir mic Diaimada mic Feargusa  
 Ceirpbeoil mic Conaill Éreáméaine mic Néill Naogiallaig  
 vo fíol Éireamóin píosacé Éireann feacé mbliadna ar  
 fíctó; agur 17 v'éas lé haóap vo éuaó ré.

Do gab Aoó Oirniuge mac Néill Fíarag mic Feargáile  
 2420 mic Maollevúin mic Maolfíctirg mic Aoóa Uairioúnaig mic  
 Dóinnall mic Muiréarag mic Muiréadaig mic Eógain  
 mic Néill Naogiallaig vo fíol Éireamóin píosacé Éireann  
 céirpe bliadna píceao. Dúnlaí ingean Flaithearag  
 mic Longrig ní Cinéil gConaill máearí Aoóa Oirniuge.  
 2425 Agur 17 uime gairtear Aoó Oirniuge vé .i. an tan vo  
 coirceao vo éioaib a buimige é, vo gab ag viúl a úorin  
 aínail vo beir ag viúl éioé a buimige; gonao uime rin  
 gairmtear Aoó Oirniuge nó Aoó Dóirniuge vé.

son of Ceallach, king of Osruighe, died. After that was fought the Battle of Achadh Liag between Ui mBriuin and Ui Maine, where many fell on either side, and Cronnmhaol, bishop of Cill Mhor, and Ailpin, king of the Picts, and Aolgnat, bishop of Ard Breacain, died. Soon after that Artghaile, son of Cathal, went on a pilgrimage to I Columcille, in Alba, and Fearghus, bishop of Daimhliag, died; and at Corann there was a battle fought between Cineal Conaill and Cineal Eoghain, wherein Maolduin, son of Aodh Ollan, king of the Fochla, was victorious, and Domhnall, son of Aodh Muindearg, was defeated and many of his people slain there. After this Niall Frasach, king of Ireland, died in I Columcille, in Alba.

## XVI.

Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, son of Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Airmeadhach Caoch, son of Conall Guithbhinn, son of Suibhne, son of Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, son of Conall Creamhthaine, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty-seven years, and it was on his pillow he died.

Aodh Oirndighe, son of Niall Frasach, son of Fearghal, son of Maolduin, son of Maoilfithrigh, son of Aodh Uairiodhnach, son of Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty-four years. Dunlaith, daughter of Flaithbheartach, son of Loingseach king of Cineal gConaill, was the mother of Aodh Oirndighe. And he is called Aodh Oirndighe, for when he was weaned from his nurse's breasts he set to suck his fists as if he were sucking his nurse's breasts; hence he was called Aodh Oirndighe or Aodh Doirndighe.



1r i bflaitéar doða Oinnuige tângavari loélonnaiḡ  
 2430 ar utúr i nÉirinn Anno Domini 820. Asur i ḡcionn vā  
 bliadān véas 'n-a úiaíó rin táinīs an t-anflait Turḡerur  
 i nÉirinn asur fá hé Oléobari mac Cionaoēa mic Conḡail  
 mic Maoileoúin mic doða beannáin fá pí ar an Muḡain  
 an tan roin, vo péir úruinge pé reanúr. ḡídeāó avéir  
 2435 Policponicon, mari a utráctann ar Éirinn 'n-a éroinic,  
 ḡurab pé linn fÉirólimió mic Cpuométainn vo beit i bflaité-  
 ear Muḡain tângavari loélonnaiḡ ar utúr i nÉirinn. As  
 ro mari avéir: a "ó éḡeāct p̄áorais ḡo haimriri fÉirólimió  
 mic Cpuométainn p̄íos Muḡain vo ḡabavari tpi p̄īs véas ar  
 2440 fíóro flaitéar Éireann pé pé na ḡceitpe ḡeāó bliadān  
 vo bí ó éḡeāct p̄áorais i nÉirinn ḡo ḡabáil flaitér  
 Muḡain o'fÉirólimió; i n-aimriri tpi fÉirólimió tângavari  
 luēt na Noruāegia mari don pé n-a utaoireāc Turḡerur  
 vo ḡabáil na cpiēe-pe" .i. Éire. Avéiru upong oile  
 2445 ḡurab pé linn Airtpe mic Caēail vo beit i bflaitéar  
 Muḡain vo éionnrēnavari loélonnaiḡ teāct o'arḡain  
 Éireann ar utúr. Asur 1r fíori úóib rin. ḡídeāó níori  
 ḡabavari ḡreim o'Éirinn āct ḡe vo punneavari buaióreān  
 orpa. 1r fíori fór an ní avéir Policponicon mari a n-ābair  
 2450 ḡurab i bflaitéar fÉirólimió mic Cpuométainn ar an Muḡain  
 táinīs an t-anflait Turḡerur léri cuireāó anḡroio ar  
 Éirinn. 1r fíori fór von upuings avéir ḡo utângavari  
 loélonnaiḡ i nÉirinn pé linn Oléobari vo beit i bflaité-  
 ear Muḡain, ḡídeāó 1r iāo āicme táinīs ann an tpiāc roin  
 2455 .i. Dainfiri ón Dania .i. Danmarke, asur 1r úioē ḡairítear  
 Duibḡeinnnte no Dublóclonnaiḡ rna reinleābpaib rean-  
 úra asur Finnḡeinnnte no Fionnloélonnaiḡ vo luēt na  
 Noruāegia.

Tuis tpiā, a léāḡtóri, nac ainm einnte éinió ran biot vo  
 2460 péir na ḡaeúilḡe loélonnaiḡ, āct 1r ionann loélonnac pé

a. Ab adventu Sancti Patricii usque ad Feilimidii regis tempora  
 33 reges per quadringentos annos in Hibernia regnaverunt. Tem-  
 pore autem Feilimidii Noruāegienses iduce Turgesio terram hanc  
 occuparunt.



It was in the reign of Aodh Oirndighe that the Lochlonnaigh first came to Ireland in the year of the Lord 820. And twelve years after that the tyrant Turgesius came to Ireland, and it was Olchobhar, son of Cionaoth, son of Conghal, son of Maolduin, son of Aodh Beannain, who was king of Munster at that time according to certain chroniclers. But the Policronicon where it treats of Ireland in its chronicle says that it was when Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, reigned in Munster that the Lochlonnaigh first came to Ireland. Thus it speaks: "From the coming of Patrick to the time of Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, king of Munster, thirty-three kings held the sovereignty of Ireland during the period of the four hundred years that elapsed from the coming of Patrick to Ireland till Feidhlimidh assumed the sovereignty of Munster; and in the time of Feidhlimidh came the Norwegians with their leader Turgesius to conquer that country," that is, Ireland. Others say that it was when Airtre, son of Cathal, reigned in Munster, the Lochlonnaigh began to come to plunder Ireland. And in this they are right. However, they did not get a grip of Ireland though they harassed the country. Moreover what the Policronicon states is true where it says that it was in the reign of Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, over Munster that the tyrant Turgesius, who reduced Ireland to slavery, came. True also is the statement of those who assert that the Lochlonnaigh came to Ireland in the reign of Olchobhar over Munster, but the tribe who came hither then were the Dainfhir or Danes from Dania, that is Denmark, and it is these are called Duibhghheinnte or Dubhlochlonnaigh in the old books of the seanchus, while the Norwegians are called Finnghheinnte or Fionnlochlonnaigh.

Understand now, O reader, that Lochlonnaigh in Irish is not a specific name for any particular tribe, but

riáó ir ouine láiríur ar fairrige; óir ir ionann lonn ir láiríur asur ir ionann loé ir fairrige; asur oo bpiúg so riabavari luét na scrióc-ro éuairceair na heorpa so tréan ar éirinn realaó aimrige, amail éuirream ríor va éir ro, 2465 oo fairíé lé fearaib éireann loélonnaiú .i. vaoine láiríe ar fairrige óioé, ar méao na treire oo gabavari ar gabvavari, amail foillreocam i n-ar noiaró oo méir an leabhair va ngairítear Cogao Gall ré gabvavari. As ro ríor ruim aitégear na ríaire.

2470 Ir i bflaítear doóa Oimriúge ar éirinn asur aimrige mac Caóail oo beir 'n-a piúg Mumhan cángavari Gaill i gCaominiú Ó bfaóaró, luét trí ríóro long a lion, asur ro hionnriao an tír leo, ir oo hairigeao ir oo loirceao Inir Labriamne ir Oairiniú leo, asur tugrao Eoganaó 2475 loéa léin cat óóib, ir oo marbaó ré rir vóag ir éeiríe éao oo Gallair ann. Táinú loingear oile o'fionnloélonnaiú .i. luét na noruagia i n'éirinn an vaira bliaoam iar ngabail riúge Mumhan o'ferólimiú mac Cuiométainn gur hionnriao ir gur hairigeao Inir Temin ir veannóair ir 2480 Cluain Uama ir Ror Maolair ir Sceilúg Míicil leo. Táinú loingear oile i vuarceair éireann ir oo hairigeao veannóair Ulaó ir oo marbaó a hearrog ir a vaoine roguméa ir oo bpiúg rírin Cómgail leo. Táinú loingear oile von luét éaoona i nUib gCinnrealaú ir oo 2485 hairigeao Teac Munna ir Teac Moling ir Inir Tioú leo; asur cángavari iar rin i nOrriúgib ir ro hairigeao an tír leo; ir tugavari Orriúge cat óóib, áit ar éuir móirfeirear ir reat gáo oo loélonnaiú ann. Oo hionnriao mar an gáoona Dún Deargmúge ir Inir Eoganaóin ir Oiríre 2490 Tiobriare ir Lior Mór leo. Oo loirceao ir oo hairigeao Ceall Molair, Gleann vá loé ir Cluain Airí Moheavóg ir Sorú Cólum Cille ir Dairliag Cíapáin ir Sláine ir Cealla Sáile ir Cluain Uama ir Mungairíur ir uimóir éall éireann uile leo.



Lochlonnach means a man who is strong at sea; for *lunn* means strong and *loch* means the sea; and since the inhabitants of those countries of the north of Europe held for a time powerful sway over Ireland, as we shall hereafter relate, the Irish called them Lochlonnaigh, that is men strong at sea, because of the great sway they acquired over the Gaels as we shall show below on the authority of the book which is called *Cogadh Gall re Gaedhealaibh*. Here follows a short summary of the history.

While Aodh Oirndighe reigned over Ireland and Airtre son of Cathal was king of Munster, the foreigners came to Caoin-inis O bhFathaidh, their number being the manning of sixty ships, and they ravaged the country and plundered and burned Inis Labhrainne and Dairinis; and the Eoghnacht of Loch Lein gave them battle, and therein were slain four hundred and sixteen foreigners. Another fleet bringing Fionnlochlonnaigh, that is Norwegians, came to Ireland the second year of Feidhlimidh son of Croimhthann's reign over Munster, and they ravaged and plundered Inis Teimhin and Beannchair and Cluain Uama and Ros Maolaidh and Sceilig Mhichil. Another fleet came to the north of Ireland and they plundered Beannchair in Ulster and slew its bishop, and its learned people, and they broke the shrine of Comhghall. Another fleet of the same people came to Ui Cinnsealaigh, and they plundered Teach Munna, Teach Moling and Inistiog; and they went thence to Osruighe and they plundered the country; and the Ossorians gave them battle and seven hundred and seven of the Lochlonnaigh fell. Similarly Dun Deargmhuighe and Inis Eoghanain and Disirt Tiobraide and Lios Mor were spoiled by them. They burned and spoiled Ceall Molaise, Gleann da Loch, and Cluain Ard Mobheadhog and Sord Cholum Chille and the Daimhliag Chiarain and Slaine and Cealla Saile and Cluain Uama and Mungairid and the greater number of the churches of all Ireland.



- 2495 Táinig iomorro loingear oile óioib i gCuan Luimnig  
 sup hionnrao agus sup hairgeao Corca baircinn ir  
 Traoiriúe ir Uí Conaill Gabra leo, agus tugrao Uí  
 Conaill cat óioib as Seannair, sup marbaó iomao vo  
 Loélonnaib ann, agus ní fear úinn cá méao a lion. Da  
 2500 éir rin táinig Tuirgér an t-anflait go loingear mór leir  
 i tuairceart Éireann agus vo gab ceannar a raibe vo  
 Loélonnaib i néirinn rán am roin, sup hionnrao tuair-  
 ceart Éireann uile leo, agus vo rcaoirioo na Danair  
 rá leir Cuinn uile; ir vo cuirioo aréraig uata ar Loé  
 2505 nEacac ir aréraig oile i lughmuis ir ar Loé Rib, sup  
 hairgeao Aro Maca rá éir i n-aonmí amáin leo. Agus  
 vo gab Turgér abóaine Aro Maca, amail ro éairingir  
 Colum Cille, amail aoeir fé féin:

2510

Loingear ro Loé Rib óe,  
 buó maic vo móraó geinnce,  
 buó uataib abb Aro Maca,  
 buó forlamar anflata.

- Vo éairingirioo trá naoim Éireann olc vo éeacac ar  
 Éirinn tré uabair a oiriac ir tré na n-aionolige, go uatáinig  
 2515 leir rin forineart Loélonnac orra mé linn airtre mic  
 Caatail vo beir i gceannar Muhan ir Aoóa Oirnoige vo  
 beir i bflaitear Éireann uile. Agus ir leir an anflait  
 Tuirgér cángaoar Loélonnaib airt i néirinn an tan rá pi  
 Muhan Feiðlimiú mac Cuiomáinn; agus ir é an Tuirgér-  
 2520 re vo úibir Faramán an príoimáio go n-a éleir a haro  
 Maca, amail aoubhamar, ir vo fuio féin 'n-a n-ait sup  
 gabao lé Maoirpeáclainn é, va éir rin, sup báio i Loé  
 Ainmunn amail aoearam 'n-a úiaio ro. Ir i bflaitear  
 Aoóa Oirnoige ar Éirinn vo hairgeao Inir Páorais ir  
 2525 móran vo na hoileánaib atá ioir Éirinn ir Albainn lé  
 Loélonnaib.

Ir rán am roin vo cuireao cíor Páorais ar Connaét-  
 aib lé Forimgal mac Din Dátaio agus vo roinn Aoó

Another fleet of them entered the harbour of Luimneach and spoiled and plundered Corca Baiscinn and Tradruidhe and Ui Conaill Gabhra, and the Ui Conaill gave them battle at Seannaid, and many of the Lochlonnaigh were slain therein, but we do not know the full number. After that Turgesius the tyrant came with a large fleet to the north of Ireland and became ruler of all the Lochlonnaigh that were then in Ireland, and they spoiled all the north of Ireland, and they let the Danair loose on the entire of Leath Cuinn; and they put some of their vessels on Loch nEachach and others in Lughmhuigh and on Loch Ribh, and they plundered Ard Macha thrice in a single month. And Turgesius took possession of the abbacy of Ard Macha, as Columcille had foretold, as he himself says :

A fleet on Loch Ribh,  
The Gentiles will be greatly uplifted ;  
Of them will be the abbot of Ard Macha,  
And the tyranny of a despot.

The saints of Ireland foretold that evil would befall Ireland through the pride of their rulers, and through their tyranny, hence the oppression of the Lochlonnaigh came on them in the reign of Airtre son of Cathal over Munster, and of Aodh Oirndighe over all Ireland. And it was with the tyrant Turgesius that the Lochlonnaigh came again to Ireland when Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, was king of Munster; and it was this Turgesius who banished Farannan the primate and his clergy from Ard Macha, as we have said, and he took their place himself, and he was seized by Maoilseachlainn afterwards, who drowned him in Loch Ainninn, as we shall relate below. It was in the reign over Ireland of Aodh Oirndighe that the Lochlonnaigh plundered Inis Phradraig and many of the islands that lie between Ireland and Alba.

It was about this time that Patrick's tribute was imposed on the people of Connaught by Gormghal, son of

Oirnniúge an mÍde ioiri v́a mac Donnada mic Donnail, 2530  
 .i. Concubairi ir Oilill, agus vo loircead í Coluim Cille  
 i nAlbain lé loclonnaiḃ an trát ioin; ir vo hairgead  
 laigiu f́a v́o i n-donmí lé hAod Oirnniúge ní éiréann.  
 San bliadaoin 'n-a v́oiad ioin vo bí cóirnead mór ir teinn-  
 tead i nEirinn o'ér f́eile páirais, sur marbad veic-  
 2535 neadair ir míle vo v́aoiuid ioiri f́oir ir mnaoi lé ioiri  
 Corca báircinn ir muir, agus vo ioinn Inir f́íoe í f́ein  
 i v́rí pannaib sur folcad ioiri v́a ba v́eas o'fearann  
 na háite ioin iair v́eadt na mara cairri.

Ir f́án amro vo cuaid Aod Oirnniúge ní éiréann go  
 2540 rluas lionmair mar don iuir i laiguib go Dún Cuair agus  
 vo ioinn Cúigead laigean ioiri v́ir, .i. ioiri muipeadac  
 mac Ruairc ir muipeadac mac b́rain. V́a éir ioin vo  
 loircead Inir muipeadaiḡ lé loclonnaiḃ. Ir f́án am-ro  
 fuair Eodaid earrog Tamlaeta b́ar, ir tugadar loclonnaiḡ  
 2545 ár mór ar f́earaiḃ ḿail, áit ar marbad Corcrae mac  
 f́loinn Abiad agus Dúnaad ní ḿail; ir fuair Eoir-  
 rceol mac Ceallaiḡ earrog f́linne v́a loe b́ar ir Siadal  
 earrog Rora Commáin. V́a éir ioin vo marbad Aod  
 Oirnniúge ní éiréann i gCat v́a f́eara lé Maolcanaiḡ.



Din Dathaidh, and Aodh Oirndighe divided Meath between the two sons of Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, to wit, Conchubhar and Oilill; and I Coluimcille in Alba was burned by the Lochlonnaigh at this time, and Laighin was twice plundered in one month by Aodh Oirndighe, king of Ireland. In the following year, after the Feast of St. Patrick, there were great thunder and lightning in Ireland, which killed one thousand and ten persons, male and female, between Corca Baiscinn and the sea, and Inis Fide burst itself into three parts, and in that place as much land as would support twelve cows was deluged, the sea having come over it.

It was about this time that Aodh Oirndighe, king of Ireland, together with a numerous host went into Leinster to Dun Cuair; and he divided the province of Leinster between two, that is between Muireadhach, son of Ruaraidh and Muireadhach, son of Bran. After that the Lochlonnaigh burned Inis Muireadhaigh. About this time Eochaidh, bishop of Tamhlacht, died; and the Lochlonnaigh wreaked great slaughter on the men of Umhall, on which occasion Coscrach, son of Flonn Abhradh and Dunadhach, king of Umhall, died; and Eidsceol, son of Ceallach, bishop of Gleann da Loch, and Siadhal, bishop of Ros Commain, died. After that Aodh Oirndighe, king of Ireland, was slain in the Battle of Da Fearta by Maolcanaigh.

## XVII.

2550 Do gab Concubair mac Donncaída mic Domnaill mic  
 Muircaída mic Diarmada mic Airmearaíais Éadóc mic  
 Conaill Guibinn mic Suibne mic Colmáin Mór mic  
 Diarmada mic Feargusa Ceirribheoil mic Conaill Éreám-  
 táinne mic Néill Naoigiallaíais vo fíol Éireamóin ríogaíocht  
 2555 Éireann ceitíre bliaíona véas. 1r i bflaítear an Con-  
 cubair-re ar Éirinn ruair Ceannfaoilíocht earpog áda  
 Truim báir, 1r Eodáí ó Tuatáil earpog Lugmáí; agus  
 vo hairgead 1mí Dáimí 1r Corcaí lé Loélonnais; agus  
 vo cuirgead cior páirais ar an Mumáin lé Feóilimí mac  
 2560 Chomáininn 1r lé hairíre mac Concubair, 1r vo cuirgead  
 cior páirais ar Connaétais leir an hairíre-re; agus vo  
 hairgead beanncair 1r Dún Leatglair lé Loélonnais;  
 agus vo loirgead Maí bíle go n-a véiréigibí leo. 1r fán  
 am-ro vo bí Muircaídaí mac Eodáí 'n-a ríais Ulaí agus  
 2565 tug Concubair mac Donncaída rí Éireann Maíom donais  
 Tairltean ar Gaileangais, áit ar éit iomaí vóibí ann,  
 agus tugadair Loélonnais maíom móir ar Laignibí i nDruim  
 Connla, áit ar éit Conuings mac Con Coingiolc rí na  
 bFoiréad agus móirán maille rir. Da éir rin vo hairgead  
 2570 Dro Maí lé Loélonnais; agus i gciann míora 'n-a vóirí  
 rin vo hairgead Lugmáí 1r Fine Ciannaéta 1r Lior Mór  
 go n-a gceallais uile leo.

Do bádar iomóirí gur an am-ro ceitíre ríomírcola i  
 néirinn, .i. ríol i ndro Maí mar a rabadar reáit míle  
 2575 mac léiginn vo ríerí fíannolla ríóit i nOxfor, 1r ríol  
 i gCairéal, ríol i nDún dá Leatglair, agus ríol i Lior  
 Mór mar don pé hiomaí coláirgead ó fíoin amac. Gívead

## XVII.

Conchubhar, son of Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, son of Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Airmeadhach Caoch, son of Conall Guithbhinn, son of Suibhne, son of Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, son of Conall Creamhthaine, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland fourteen years. It was in the reign of this Conchubhar over Ireland that Ceannfaolaidh, bishop of Ath Truim, died, and Eochaidh O Tuathail, bishop of Lughmhagh; and Inis Daimhli and Corcach were plundered by the Lochlonnaigh; and Patrick's tribute was imposed on Munster by Feidhlimidh son of Criomhthann, and by Airtre son of Conchubhar, and Patrick's tribute was imposed on Connaught by the same Airtre; and Beannchair and Dun Leathghlaise were plundered by the Lochlonnaigh; and they burned Magh Bile and its penitential cells. About this time Muireadhach, son of Eochaidh, was king of Ulster, and Conchubhar, son of Donnchadh, king of Ireland, inflicted the Defeat of Aonach Tailtean on the Gaileanga, wherein many of them fell; and the Lochlonnaigh inflicted a great defeat on the Leinstermen at Drom Connla, where Conuing, son of Cu Choingiolt, king of the Forthuath, fell, and several others with him. After that Ard Macha was plundered by the Lochlonnaigh, and a month afterwards Lughmhagh and Finé Chiannachta and Lios Mor with all their churches were plundered by them.

Now up to this time there were four chief schools in Ireland, to wit, a school at Ard Macha in which there were seven thousand students according to an old scroll which was found in Oxford, and a school at Cashel, a school at Dun da Leathghlais and a school at Lios Mor, together with numerous colleges as well. But they were now



vo cuirfeadh ar gcúl an trád-ro iad. Da éir rin fuair Concubair mac Donnada ní Éireann báir.

- 2580 Do gab Miall Caille mac Aoda Oirneige mic Néill  
 Éiraidis mic Feargail mic Maileóuin mic Mailefíreig  
 mic Aoda Uairiothaidis mic Domhnaill mic Muirceardais  
 mic Muirtheadais mic Eogain mic Néill Naoidíallais  
 vo fíol Éireamóin níosdaet Éireann cúis bliada  
 2585 oéas. Meab inéan Inneadais mic Muirtheadais ní  
 Connaet mádar an Néill-re. Agus ir uime hairtear  
 Miall Caille óe, .i. lá n-aon da oáin Miall marcfua  
 móir o'ionnruige na habann oarab ainm Callann, agus vo  
 bí tuile móir fan abainn an tan roin; téio trá giolla ós  
 2590 vo muinntir an níos rompa o'fíor na habann ir vo báda  
 é. Do páir an ní pé cáe uil da fórtáet ir ní bfuair ó  
 neac uil ann. Do cuair an ní féin ar a eac da fóirtin,  
 agus mar vo bean cora an eic pé bfuac na habann vo  
 bfuir an bfuac ir rug an abann an ní léi gur báda é, óir  
 2595 vo hairngirfeadh vo gurab é a báda i gCallann vo-  
 gáda; gonaó aipe rin aoirtear Miall Caille nír.

- Ir i bflaitear an Néill-re fuair Diaimair mac Tom-  
 altais ní Connaet báir; ir vo hairgeadh loe bpuirinne ar  
 Congalaac mac neacac ir vo marbad é féin lé loelonnaib;  
 2600 agus vo cuair Miall Caille ní Éireann go rluag lionmair  
 mar don nír i laigrib ag cur níos oirra, .i. bhan mac  
 faoláin. Da éir rin vo hairgeadh fearna Maóós lé  
 loelonnaib, ir vo loirceadh Mungairir ir iomao ceall i  
 nluimhain leo; agus vo hairgeadh Cill Daira mar an  
 2605 gceadna lé loelonnaib. Ir fan am-ro táinir luét tré  
 fícto long ón nóimantie ar bóinn, agus dá fícto long  
 ar abainn liéfe, gur airgríor an loingear roin Ma  
 liéfe, .i. Conntae áta Cliaet, agus Ma brea, .i. Fine  
 Gall, ioir cealla ir óna ir treaba. Da éir rin tugadar

broken up. After this Conchubhar son of Donnchadh, king of Ireland, died.

Niall Caille, son of Aodh Oirndighe, son of Niall Frasach, son of Fearghal, son of Maolduin, son of Maolfithrigh, son of Aodh Uairiodhnach, son of Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, son of Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland fifteen years. Meadhbh, daughter of Innrechtach, son of Muireadhach, king of Connaught, was the mother of this Niall. And he is called Niall Caille, for one day when Niall with a large host of calvalry approached the river which is called Callann, and there was a great flood in the river at that time, a youth of the king's party went before them to explore the river and was drowned. The king asked the party to go to his relief and he got no one to go. The king himself went on his horse to relieve him, and as the horse's feet touched the bank of the river, the bank gave way and the river carried away the king, and he was drowned, as it was foretold him that he would die by being drowned at Callann. For this reason he is called Niall Caille.

It was in the reign of this Niall that Diarmaid, son of Tomaltach, king of Connaught, died, and Loch Bricirne was plundered against Conghalach, son of Eochaidh, and he himself was slain by the Lochlonnaigh; and Niall Caille, king of Ireland, went with a large host to Leinster to appoint a king over them, that is Bran, son of Faolan. After that Fearná Maodhog was plundered by the Lochlonnaigh and Mungairid and many churches in Urmhumha were burned by them; and similarly Cill Dara was plundered by the Lochlonnaigh. It was about this time that the crews of sixty ships came from Normandy to the Boyne, and forty ships to the river Lithfe, and that fleetful plundered Magh Lithfe, that is the county of Ath Cliath, and Magh Breagh, that is Fine Ghall, their churches, fortresses and dwellings.



2610 *Loélonnais* cat ar uib néill as innbeair na mbáiric ó  
 Síonainn go muir, áit ar éuit iomao naé áirimigíteair  
 aét a bpríomátoirig; asur vo loircead inir cealltra  
 ir cluain mic nóir ir cealla loéa héirne uile lé loé-  
 lonnairb.

2615 Ir fán am-ro vo bí Feiúlimiú mac Cuiomáin 'n-a míf  
 Mumhan ir 'n-a aipoeapoz leite Moza, asur vo éuaró  
 o'arḡain leite Cuinn ó bioipia go Teamairi bpeaz, asur  
 vo farctó i oTeamairis é, ir vo marbad inhpaeáac mac  
 Maoileóuin lé muinntir Feiúlimiú i oTeamairis; asur go  
 2620 ḡios va éir rin fuair Feiúlimiú mac Cuiomáin bár, ar  
 mbeir feáct mbliáona píceao 'n-a míf Mumhan moime rin;  
 asur ir í teirt vo-beir an leabair ihir air: a "Do cum-  
 ranaió an t-eagruir mó-máic asur angairpe na Scot." Ar  
 ro ir iontuigíte gur óuine eagruiré cráibíteac Feiúlimiú  
 2625 mac Cuiomáin 'n-a aimir féin.

Tuz an Feiúlimiú-re meadóiréuarpe leite Cuinn ir vo  
 foc míf an cior vo óligeavair o'faḡail ó míf Cairil, asur  
 an biaáacair vo bí o'faáib oipia-ran vo tábairt 'n-a  
 aḡair rin, asur na tuarairail vo bíó ó míoḡair Cairil  
 2630 vo míoḡair leite Cuinn ir vo míoḡair laigean ir vo na  
 ppiomálaáib fearainn vo bíó fúáib, amair éurpear  
 Bemén naomá mac Seircnéin ppiomáió Éiréann pior é  
 i leabair na ḡCeairt ran vuar vabar torac: Óligeao  
 ḡac míf ó míf Cairil. As ro iomoirio cior ir tuarairail  
 2635 na míoḡ-ro ó míoḡair Cairil ir a éuarpe-rean ir a aimirair  
 biaóta oipia va éionn, .i. céao clóiréam, céao corin, céao  
 eac, ir céao bpat vo míf Cpuacáan ir biaáao vā mairé  
 ó míf Cpuacána vo míf Cairil, asur a óul leir i oTir  
 Conaill; píce fail nó fáinne, píce píceall ir píce eac vo



After this the Lochlonnaigh won a battle over the Ui Neill at Inbhear na mBarc, between the Sionainn and the sea, wherein many fell though only their chief leaders are mentioned; and Inis Cealltra and Cluain Mic Nois and all the churches of Loch Eirne were burned by the Lochlonnaigh.

It was about this time that Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, was king of Munster and archbishop of Leath Mogha, and he went to plunder Leath Cuinn from Biorra to Teamhair Bhreagh, and he was detained at Teamhair; and Innreachtach, son of Maolduin, was slain by Feidhlimidh's party at Teamhair, and soon after that Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, died, having been then twenty seven years king of Munster; and the character the Leabhar Irsi gives of him is: the excellent, wise man and anchorite of the Scots, rested in peace. From this it is to be inferred that Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, was a wise and pious man in his own time.

This Feidhlimidh made the circuit of Leath Cuinn, and paid the rents that by law its kings were entitled to from the king of Cashel—while they gave the food-supply that they were bound to give in exchange for them—and the wages that the kings of Cashel were bound to pay to the kings of Leath Cuinn and to the kings of Leinster, and to the chief territorial lords that were under them, as St. Beinen, son of Seiscnen, primate of Ireland, sets it down in the Book of Rights in the poem which begins: Every king is entitled to get from the king of Cashel. Now the following are the rent and wages of these kings from the king of Cashel, and his circuit amongst them and his seasons for getting provisions from them on the occasion of it; a hundred swords, a hundred goblets, a hundred steeds and a hundred mantles for the king of Cruachain, and provision for two quarters from the king of Cruachain for the king of Cashel, and that he should escort him to Tir Chonaill; twenty bracelets or rings, twenty chess-boards, twenty steeds for

2640 níg ċinéil gConaill aḡur biaṡaḡ míora ó níg ċinéil  
 ċonaill aḡur a ḡul leir i oTiri eoḡain; caoḡa coḡn, caoḡa  
 cloiḡeaḡn vo níg Oilig aḡur biaṡaḡ míora ir a ḡul  
 leir go Tulaiḡ nÓḡ. Tḡioṡao coḡn, tḡioṡao cloiḡeaḡn vo  
 fḡaiṡ Tolṡa nÓḡ; biaṡaḡ oá tḡiaṡ oéaḡ uaiḡ vo níg  
 2645 Muḡan aḡur a ḡul leir i nOirḡiallaiḡ. Oṡt lúipeaṡa,  
 tḡi fíciḡ ionaḡi ir tḡi fíciḡ eaṡ vo níg Oirḡiall ir a  
 biaṡaḡ mí i nEaḡain, aḡur a ḡul leir i nUllṡaiḡ ar  
 élanḡaiḡ Ruḡuiḡe. Céao coḡn, céao maṡal, céao  
 cloiḡeaḡn, céao eaṡ ir veic longḡ vo níg Ulaḡ ir biaṡaḡ  
 2650 oá míor ó élanḡaiḡ Ruḡuiḡe oó-ḡan, ir uul va coim-  
 veaṡt go Teaḡḡaiḡ. Tḡioṡao lúipeaṡ, tḡioṡao fḡail, céao  
 eaṡ, ir tḡioṡao fíceaḡl vo níg Teaḡḡaṡ aḡur biaṡaḡ  
 míora ó níg Teaḡḡaṡ oó; aḡur ceiteoḡa fine na Teaḡḡaṡ  
 laiḡ go hÁṡ Cliaṡ. Veic mná, veic longḡ, veic n-eic  
 2655 vo níg Áṡa Cliaṡ ir biaṡaḡ míora oó ó níg Áṡa Cliaṡ,  
 aḡur a ḡul laiḡ i Laiḡniḡ. Tḡioṡao bó, tḡioṡao longḡ,  
 tḡioṡao eaṡ, tḡioṡao cuḡal nó cailin vo níg Laiḡean aḡur  
 biaṡaḡ oá míor oó ó Laiḡniḡ, .i. mí ó uaṡṡaiḡ Laiḡean  
 ir mí ó ioṡṡaiḡ Laiḡean. Tḡioṡao eaṡ, tḡioṡao lúipeaṡ,  
 2660 tḡioṡao cloiḡeaḡn vo fḡaiṡ ioṡṡaiḡ Laiḡean ó níg Caiḡil.

Meaḡ, a léaḡṡóir, naṡ mipe ir uḡḡaiḡ mipe an ní-fe  
 aṡt an naom beinén, aḡaiḡ ir folliḡ a leaḡaiḡ na  
 gCeapṡ.\*

\* The enumeration of rents, etc., given in text, is abridged from the  
 Book of Rights. See O'Donovan's edition, p. 32.

the king of Cineal Conaill, and provision for a month from the king of Cineal Conaill, and that he should escort him to Tir Eoghain; fifty goblets, fifty swords for the king of Oileach, and provision for a month, and that he should escort him to Tulach Og; thirty goblets, thirty swords for the prince of Tulach Og, provision for twelve days from him for the king of Munster, and that he should escort him to Oirghialla; eight coats of mail, three score tunics and three score steeds for the king of Oirghialla, and provision for him for a month in Eamhain, and that he should escort him to Ulster to the clann Rudhruighe; a hundred goblets, a hundred mantles, a hundred swords, a hundred steeds and ten ships for the king of Ulster and provision for two months from the clann Rudhruighe for him, and that he should escort him to Tara; thirty coats of mail, thirty rings, a hundred steeds and thirty chess-boards for the king of Tara, and provision for a month from the king of Tara for him and the four tribes of Tara to escort him to Ath Cliath; ten women, ten ships, ten steeds for the king of Ath Cliath and provision for a month for him from the king of Ath Cliath, and that he should escort him to Leinster; thirty cows, thirty ships, thirty steeds, thirty female slaves or maidens for the king of Leinster, and provision for two months for him from Leinster, to wit, a month from Upper Leinster and a month from Lower Leinster; thirty steeds, thirty coats of mail, thirty swords for the chief for Lower Leinster from the king of Cashel.

Understand, O reader, that I am not the author of these things, but St. Beinen, as is plain from the Book of Rights.



## XVIII.

Agus o' éir feoilimíó mac Cuiomhóidinn o' fásáil báir  
 2865 vo gáb Óléodair, abb Imliḡ loḃair, nuge Cuiril; agus ran  
 mbliáúain rin tug Maolpreáclainn ní Míde cat ar Loé-  
 lonnais 1 gCarán bnuige ran Míde mar ar éuit reáct  
 gcéad oíob; agus tug Tigeairnac bnuigeo oíia 1 n'Óirre  
 Óirire óá Conna. 1r fán am-ro vo marbaó Saxolb taoir-  
 2870 ead na Loélonnac lé Ciannaétais ḡlinne Seimean, 1r tugao  
 ar móir ar Loélonnais 1 gCarin Feairiáúis agus veairḡair  
 oile ag Ear Ruaid.

Óa éir rin vo gábad áé Cliaé lé Loélonnais ar  
 otúr. 1r fán am-ro fór rugao Coimac mac Cuileannáin,  
 2875 fá ní Muhan reáct mbliáúna 1r fá hairvearpoz 1 gCairéal  
 1 n-aoirreáct; agus vo marbaó earpoz Teilge oar b'ainm  
 Ecnich; 1r tugaoar Loélonnais cat ar Connaétais, áit ar  
 éuit Maolóúin mac Muirgeara 1r iomao vo Connaétais  
 mar don nír; agus fuair bhuian mac faoláin ní Laoigre  
 2880 báir. Óa éir rin tángaoar Loélonnais cablaé móir ar loé  
 neácaé gur hairgeao tuáta 1r cealla éuairceirt éireann  
 leo, 1r vo loirceao fearna 1r Coircaé mar an gcéadna  
 leo.

Óo éuao Mall Caille ní éireann an trát-ro go  
 2885 rluag Lionmar leir o'airḡain 1r vo éreacáó fear gCeall 1r  
 Dealbna Eáira; 1r fuair Muircaó mac Aoḃa ní Connaéct  
 báir an trát-ro, 1r Ioseph earpoz Cluana Uair. 1r fán  
 am-ro fór vo rinneaoar Loélonnais longpóirt ag linn  
 Duacail ar ar hairgeao tuáta Teatba leo. Óo rin-  
 2890 neaoar Loélonnais mar an gcéadna longpóirt oile ag  
 Duiblinn ar ar hairgeao Laiḡin 1r Uí Néill 1r a otuáta  
 1r a gcealla go Sliaḃ blaóma leo. Óa éir rin iomorro

## XVIII.

And after the death of Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, Olchobhar, abbot of Imleach Iobhair, assumed the sovereignty of Cashel; and in that year Maoilseachlainn, king of Meath, won a battle over the Lochlonnaigh at Casan Brige in Meath, where seven hundred of them fell, and Tighearnach defeated them at Doire Dhisirt dha Chonna. It was about this time that Saxolbh, leader of the Lochlonnaigh, was slain by the Ciannachta of Gleann Geimhean, and great slaughter was made of the Lochlonnaigh at Carn Fearadhach and terrible slaughter also at Eas Ruadh.

After this Ath Cliath was first taken by the Lochlonnaigh. It was also about this time that Cormac son of Cuileannan, who was king of Munster seven years, and was at the same time archbishop at Cashel, was born, and the bishop of Tealach, whose name was Exnich, was slain, and the Lochlonnaigh won a battle over the Connaughtmen, in which fell Maolduin, son of Muirgheas, and many Connaughtmen with him; and Brian, son of Faolan, king of Laoighis, died. After that the Lochlonnaigh came with a large fleet on Loch nEachach, and they plundered the districts and churches of the north of Ireland and similarly they burned Fearna and Corcach.

Niall Caille, king of Ireland, went at this time with a numerous host to plunder and spoil Feara Ceall and Dealbhna Eathra; and Murchadh, son of Aodh, king of Connaught, died at this time, also Joseph, bishop of Cluain Uais. It was about this time also that the Lochlonnaigh built a camp on Linn Duachaill from which they plundered the districts of Teathbha. Similarly the Lochlonnaigh built another camp at Duibhlinn from which they plundered Leinster and Ui Neill and their districts and churches to Sliabh Bladhma. And after that they plundered Cluain

2685    vo hairgead Cluain Eirneac i r Cluain Iorairio i r Cluain  
       Mic Nóir leo ; agus fuair Feargus mac Foctais ní Connac  
       bár ; agus vo cógbad dún i r daingean lé Tuirgéis flait  
       Loélonnac ar Loé Rib ; gur airgriob Cluain Mic Nóir air  
       i r Cluain fearra brianainn i r Tipi dá ghar i r loéira i r  
       caéradá iomda oile. agus da éir rin fuair Formgall  
 2700    Mall Caille ní Éireann cat vo Loélonnais ar Maig Ióca,  
       mar ar éuit iomao díob leir. agus i r grio 'n-a díad rin  
       gur bádaó Mall Caille ní Éireann i gCailainn, amail  
       aoubriamar.

2705    Vo gab an t-anflait Turgeriur ón Noiuasgia go n-a  
       fuirinn o'Fionnloélonnais bairántar Éireann trí bliadna  
       véas, tar éir mar vo bí ré as buaidneac Éireann reat  
       mbliadna véas ; agus vo bí ré as imit foirneir i r  
       foiréigin ar Éirinn iur an ré rin, iur oisgeac vo loingear  
       mór ón Noiuasgia vo éongnam dó ; gur gabadar euan i  
 2710    scuarcear Éireann ; gur hairgead an érioc poin leo,  
       agus gur gabad a mbriagoe ; agus vo éuireadar báio go  
       bfuirinn ionnta ré fogail vo véanaim ar an Loé neacac  
       i r ar Loé Rib, amail aoubriamar, vo réir mar vo éairingir  
       Colum Cille ran iann iomáinn.

2715    Vo éairingir fóir beacán na Fáirtine go mbiaó ní  
       anflaitéac vo Loélonnais ar Éirinn, agus mar an gcéadna  
       go mbiaó abb ar gac cill i nÉirinn vo Loélonnais. as  
       fo mar aóirí ran iann-ro :

2720    Tioctaro Feinnce tar muir meann,  
       meactaro ar fearais Éireann,  
       buó uatáib abb ar gac cill,  
       buó uatáib ní for Éirinn.

2725    Mar vo éonncadar uairle Éireann Tuirgéis as coim-  
       meactar na cride i r as gabáil uplamair ór a cionn, agus é  
       as imit mošgraine i r daoire uirre, vo gab meirneac  
       meanman crióadac i r calmadac intinne na huairle céadna,  
       gur éuireadar uad i r uócar mór orra féin as caéugad



Eidhneach and Cluain Ioraird and Cluain Mic Nois; and Fearghus, son of Fothach, king of Connaught, died; and Turgesius, chief of the Lochlonnaigh, built a dun and a fortress on Loch Ribh; and they plundered Cluain Mic Nois again, and Cluain Fearta of Breanainn and Tir da Ghlas and Lothra and many other stone fortresses. And after that Gormghall, son of Din Dathaidh, bishop of Lann Leire, died. And Niall Caille, king of Ireland, gave the Lochlonnaigh battle on Magh Iotha wherein many of them fell by him. And it was soon after this that Niall Caille, king of Ireland, was drowned at Callan, as we have said.

The tyrant Turgesius of Norway with his army of Fionnlochlonnaigh held the supremacy of Ireland thirteen years, after he had been harassing the country for seventeen years; and during that time he was oppressing and coercing Ireland, a large fleet having come from Norway to help him; and they put into harbour in the north of Ireland; and they plundered that country and got hostages thence, and they sent boats manned to spoil Loch nEachach and Loch Ribh, as we have said, in accordance with what Columcille prophesied in the stanza already given.

Bearchan of the Prophecy also foretold that a tyrant of the Lochlonnaigh would be king of Ireland, and similarly that every church in Ireland would have an abbot of the Lochlonnaigh. Thus does he speak in the following stanza :

The Gentiles will come over the stuttering sea,  
They will commix with the men of Ireland ;  
An abbot of their race will rule each church ;  
Of them will be a king of Ireland.

When the nobles of Ireland saw that Turgesius was upsetting the country, and that he had it in his power, and that he was enslaving and tyrannising over it, these nobles assumed a magnanimous courage and a valorous steadfast spirit, and they underwent great hardship and

nír na hanflaḡaib rin. As ro ríor cuio do na maḡmaib  
 tugadur Gaedil orra, mar atá an bpiread tugadur Cinéal  
 2730 Conaill orra as Ear Rusiú, áit ar marbaḡ iomaḡ oíob,  
 ir an bpiread tugadur Dál gCair as Aru bpeacáin oíob,  
 ir mar do marbaḡ Saxolb iapla Loélonnac go n-a buiḡin  
 lé hUib gColgan, ir mar tug Oléobur mac Cionaoḡa ní  
 Muḡan, ir Loricán mac Ceallaiḡ ní Lúigean Cat Scéite  
 2735 Neacḡain orra, áit ar marbaḡ iapla Tumair tanairece pioḡ  
 Loélonn leo, ir vā céao véas do maiteib Loélonnac mar  
 don nír. Do bpir rór an tOléobur céaona ir Eoḡanaḡt  
 Cairil cat orra láim ré Cairéal, áit ar tuic cúig céao  
 oíob as Dún Maóile Tuile. Do tuic trí céao ir trí  
 2740 rícto lé hUib bfróḡinnce oíob, ir vā céao lé Cianḡaḡt-  
 aib, ir vā rícto véas as Oruim vā Con lé Tigearnac ní  
 Loḡa Gabair. Do bpir iomorro mar an gcéaona Maóil-  
 reaclainn mac Maolpuanuiḡ ní Miḡe Cat Glairlinne  
 orra, áit ar marbaḡ reaclt gcéao véas do Loélonnab  
 2745 ann.

Séir b'iomḡa iomorro catá ir coimḡleaca tugad iorir  
 na Gaedil ir Turḡeir go n-a Loélonnab, tré Lionmaire  
 na gcablaḡ ir tré iomaḡ rluas tigeaḡ do congnaḡ leir  
 ón Noruaḡia ir ó ériocáib oile tuairceire na heorpa, do  
 2750 éuaḡ aige ar Gaedelaib, gur éuir fá bpoio ir fá moḡ-  
 raine vó féin ir vā allmuiricáib iao.

As ro ríor go cumair do moḡraine Gaedéal fá Loé-  
 lonnab, ir an cíor ir an éain do bíoḡ orra, mar atá ní  
 ar gaḡ triúḡa céao i néirinn do Loélonnab, ir taoireacl  
 2755 ar gaḡ tuairt ir abb ar gaḡ cill, maor ar gaḡ baile.  
 ruairreacl nó buanna ar gaḡ toisḡ, ir gan uiriao eoin éirice  
 vā maoin féin ar cumar fíir an tige, asur muna mbeit



distress in their conflict with these tyrants. Here follow some of the defeats which the Gaels inflicted on them, namely, their defeat by the Cineal Conaill at Eas Ruadh where many of them were slain; and their defeat by the Dal gCais at Ard Breacain; and when Saxolbh, an earl of the Lochlonnaigh with his party was slain by the Ui Colgan; and when Olchobhar, son of Cionaoth, king of Munster, and Lorcan, son of Ceallach, king of Leinster, won the Battle of Sciath Neachtain over them, wherein they slew Earl Tomar, tanist to the king of Lochlonn, together with twelve hundred of the nobles of the Lochlonnaigh. Moreover, the same Olchobhar and the Eoghanacht of Cashel overthrew them near Cashel, where five hundred of them fell at Dun Mhaoile Tuile. Three hundred and sixty of them fell by the Ui Fidhghinnte, and two hundred by the Ciannachta, and twelve hundred at Drom da Chon by Tighearnach, king of Loch Gabhair; and also Maoilseachlainn, son of Maolruanuidh, king of Meath, overthrew them in the Battle of Glaslinn in which seventeen hundred Lochlonnaigh were slain.

Though there were many battles and skirmishes fought between the Gaels and Turgesius with his Lochlonnaigh, still by reason of the numerous fleets and the many hosts that came to his aid from Norway and from other countries in the north of Europe, he conquered the Gaels and reduced them to subjection and to slavery to himself and to his foreigners.

Here is a short account of the slavery of the Gaels under the Lochlonnaigh, and of the rent and tribute imposed on them, to wit, a Lochlonnach king over every cantred in Ireland, and a chief over every district and an abbot over every church, a steward over every townland, and a mercenary or hired soldier over every house, while the householder had not the disposal of as much as a hen of his own property; and were there but one



aét an dongamhac i rtiḡ ní bfuigeaó an naoiúin donoiúche  
 ná an galmaó a bainne, aét a coiméao don buanna; aḡur  
 2760 mun buó fáruighe é do-beiraeó fear an tige mur ran  
 oiraeácar i ngeall mé n-a buannaét. Do bioó uinge o'óir  
 ḡaóa bliadóa aḡ loólonnaió ar ḡaó fear i nériunn nó  
 an ttriún ón éann. Ní bioó iomoiúio bmaé ná éaoaó ar  
 éigearna ná ar banflait, aét éaoaige i r bmaé aétáite  
 2765 na loólonnac; ḡan neart léigean do éaoaice ioná  
 eaoailpe o'aitiúe aét loólonnaiḡ 'n-a oteamplaib i r na  
 noúntaib, ḡan rruite ḡan cléiuḡ ḡan leabairi náio mionna  
 i meigléir ná i mainiuriri oa n-eaoḡa, ḡan file ḡan feall-  
 ram ḡan oirfuoeaó aḡ leannmáin oḡiú na oúéara. ḡan  
 2770 inḡean míoḡ ná tigearna ná taoiriḡ mé cur ríoa ná  
 ḡriér, ḡan mac míoḡ ná taoiriḡ aḡ foḡluim lúit ná lám-  
 aiḡ, ḡan fleao ná féarta oa caiteam iorí cáiriúib aét an  
 fuigheall do bioó o'érí Oanaí oa fáruḡaó féin oi.

Do bi do éiuime na oaoiri-pe-re loólonnac ar ḡaeóeal-  
 2775 aib ḡur ḡaó cuiri-pe móir riri éiraeann uile; i r ar t-iarmáir  
 oa ḡcléir do máir i r do bioó aḡ a noírluḡaó féin i  
 ḡcoilltió i r i n-ionaoaib oiaḡaipe ḡo oearóil aḡ éabairt  
 a mbeaóó ar ḡo cmaibéaó, do ḡuioeaoar Oia ḡo oúé-  
 maéaó fá iao féin o'foiriúein ó anflaitéar Turḡeriur. Do  
 2780 trioirceao fóir leo air, aḡur tuḡaoar fá oeara ar ḡaó  
 tuáta riréanta do bi umal oóib an ní céaoa do uéanaim.  
 aḡur do éirt Oia mé n-a nḡuioe maille mé Turḡeriur do  
 éabairt ar éumar na nḡaeóeal, aimail éuipream ríor do  
 látair anro.

2785 Ar mbeit iomoiúio do Turḡeriur ran anflaitéar  
 foiriéigheac-ro, aḡur ḡaeóil trié umlaét aimúeonaiḡ aḡ  
 ḡiallaó oó, do rinne longpóirt coimnuíche do féin lám mé  
 oúinlior maoilfeaclainn mic maoilpuanuio míoḡ míoé;

stripper in the house neither the babe one night old nor the sick person would get her milk, but it was kept for the soldier, and if he were not satisfied he took the householder with him to the assembly in pledge for his maintenance. The Lochlonnaigh exacted an ounce of gold each year from every man in Ireland or else the nose from his head. And neither lord nor lady wore a mantle or dress but the cast-off clothes and mantles of the Lochlonnaigh; they were not permitted to give instruction or frequent church—but the Lochlonnaigh were in their churches and in their duns—with no professors or clergy, without books or jewels in the abbey-churches and monasteries through fear of them; without a *filé*, without a philosopher, without a musician according to the laws of the country; without the daughter of a king or lord or chief wearing silk or embroidery; without the son of a king or a chief learning feats of agility or casting; with no feast or banquet held among friends, but what remained after the foreigners had been sated therefrom.

The severity of the servitude to which the Lochlonnaigh had brought the Gaels was the cause of great trouble to all the men of Ireland; and the remnant of their clergy that survived, and that were wont to hide themselves in woods and in secret places leading pious lives in wretchedness, earnestly prayed God to release them from the tyranny of Turgesius. They fasted also against him, and directed each of the faithful laity who were subject to them to do the same. And God heard their prayer, and put Turgesius in the power of the Gaels as we shall here immediately relate.

While Turgesius thus held oppressive sway, and while the Gaels were submissive to him in unwilling obedience, he built a fortified residence for himself near the *duinlios* of *Maolseachlainn*, son of *Maolruanaidh*, king of *Meath*;



2790 aḡur lá n-aon va vótáinis go teac Maoilfeaclainn, acéi  
 inḡean álainn aontuáa vo bí aḡ Maoilfeaclainn, aḡur ar  
 mbeic aorta ainmianac vó féin, iarraiar an inḡean ar a  
 haṡaiar mé lúige ma ar leannántaéc. “A éigearna,” ar  
 Maoilfeaclainn, “iṡ veapb liom nac anfa ar m’inḡin  
 mar mnaoi pópta acé go maó lór leat fealaíveacé v’faḡáil  
 2795 oi. Siúeaó iarraim oit ḡan m’inḡean v’iarraió ór ar  
 ionnur nac cuiprúe nuacáar amuḡa uipre; aḡur ó éapla vo  
 longpóit-ṡa i nḡar von lior-ro ‘n-a bfuilim-ṡe, cuipreao  
 m’inḡean ór íreal io vóil marí aon iṡ na cúis mnáib óḡa  
 véas iṡ áilne aḡur iṡ feapcamla ṡan Miúe uile; aḡur iṡ  
 2800 veapb liom an can acéifir an banṡiaéc roin, nac biaó reao  
 ná fuim im inḡin féin aḡac, ar a n-áille reoc m’inḡean  
 féin.” Vo ba toil lé Tuirḡeir rin, aḡur vo cumao oiúce  
 éinnce leo ‘n-a ḡcuiprúe an inḡean go n-a banṡiaéc i nváil  
 Tuirḡeir va longpóit. Tapla ṡán am roin cuinniuḡao  
 2805 iṡ coiméionól ar a maḡavari vo éaoiréacáib loélonnac i  
 n’éirinn go hác Cliaé i ḡcoinne Tuirḡeir mé cinneao  
 comáirle vóib um éeann na críce vo éorḡaíh iṡ vo éaoíhna;  
 aḡur iar mbeic ann rin vóib, noécáir Tuirḡeir vo éuro vo  
 na éaoiréacáib rin an vóil vo bí ioir é féin iṡ Maoilfeac-  
 2810 lann, iṡ ḡealláir mná von vruing vóib-ṡan vo maáo leir,  
 aḡur ṡualláir leir na cúis firi véas ba mó meirneac iṡ  
 macḡair vo na éaoiréacáib rin, aḡur ní véapnavari for ná  
 coimnuiúe go poécain longpúit Tuirḡeir vóib marí aon mé  
 n-a vtiḡearna.

2815 Vóla Maoilfeaclainn vo éur tionól ór íreal ar cúis,  
 feapáib véas vo na hóḡaib ḡan féaróḡa iṡ uipamanta vo-  
 bí ṡan Miúe, aḡur tuḡ ṡa veapa eapmaóa ban vo éur oirra  
 iṡ cloíveaíh ḡearri ṡa éoim ḡac aoin vóib, aḡur a ḡcur marí  
 rin i puéc banṡiaéc a ḡcoimveacé a inḡine. Aḡur an-  
 2820 can táinis an oiúce vo ḡeallao iṡ vo éur i nváil Tuirḡeir.



and on a certain day when he came to the house of Maoilseachlainn he cast eyes on Maoilseachlainn's daughter, a beautiful marriageable maiden ; and aged and self-indulgent as he was, he requested her father to give the maiden to him as his mistress. "My lord," replied Maoilseachlainn, "I am certain that thou wouldst not be content with my daughter as thy wedded wife, but wouldst deem it sufficient to have her for a time. I therefore beseech thee not to ask for her publicly lest she may be baulked of a husband ; and as thy fortress happens to be near this lios in which I reside, I will send my daughter privately to meet thee, together with the fifteen most beautiful and loveable maidens in all Meath ; and I am certain that when thou shalt see these ladies thou wilt pay neither heed nor attention to my own daughter, so far do they excel her in beauty." Turgesius approved of this, and they fixed a certain night on which the maiden with her attendant ladies was to be sent to meet Turgesius to his fortress. About this time there was a gathering and assembly of all the Lochlonnach chiefs in Ireland to meet Turgesius at Ath Cliath, with the view to take counsel as to maintaining and preserving their sway in the country ; and while they were there Turgesius made known to some of the chiefs the agreement he had come to with Maoilseachlainn, and promised women to those of them who would go with him ; and fifteen of the most daring and lustful of these chiefs went with him, and they did not rest or tarry till they reached the fortress of Turgesius together with their lord.

As to Maoilseachlainn he sent privately <sup>1</sup>for fifteen of the most daring beardless youths that were in Meath, and directed that they be dressed in women's clothes, and wear a short sword each at the waist, and that they be thus sent disguised as women to accompany his daughter. And when the night came on which she was to be sent to meet Turgesius according to promise,

triallair an ingean go n-a bantpacét go nveacáid i ngar  
 von longpóirt; agus cuirir féala ór íreal go Tuirgéisir na  
 noéadú óó i féin go n-a bantpacét vo beir i ngar von toig  
 mé uil na fíor; agus ar n-a élor rin uó, tug fá veapá ar  
 2825 na ceannaið feadúna vo bí 'n-a foéair uil na feompacáid,  
 agus dúbairic go gcuirfeadú mná éuca amail no géal.  
 leir rin vo-níó doin beapc amáin na n-aimaið ar an mbovo  
 vo bí ar an halla, ir téio ríao na feompacáid, gac don  
 vóib ar leabaid ar leir, ag feiteam nír an mbantpacét rin  
 2830 no poinn oipá.

Tapla fán am rin Maoilreacáinn, go fluaðbuidin  
 'n-a foéair, i bfoéair a ingine, agus a dubairic mé vponig  
 vo na hógaib rin vo bí i pacáid ban 'n-a foéair, an tan  
 vo cuirfeadú Tuirgéisir lám rin ingin na fapcód aige, bueir  
 2835 go heapacac ar ir bpaige vo véanaim ve; agus vponig oile  
 vo uil i reilb aim an tige agus lingead ar na ceannaið  
 feadúna vo bí irtig; agus go mbiaú féin ir an fluað-  
 buidean vo bí 'n-a foéair láim nír an vrig, ir go lingeadú  
 an teag irteac nír an gcéaváir vo éongaim vóib mé  
 2840 mapad na loélonnac. Téio an ingean go n-a bantpacét  
 leir rin tré élvopar vo bí ar an vteac go páinig feompá  
 Tuirgéisir; agus ar poétain 'n-a láéair vóib, tug rúil cairir  
 ar an mnai uapail ir ar a bantpacét, ir níor éatir leir  
 vóib ac i féin, agus leir rin cuirir lám innte na fapcód  
 2845 aige. Ar n-a faicrin rin vo na hógaib vo bí 'n-a foéair,  
 beirio vponig vóib go heapacac ar Tuirgéisir ir vo-níó  
 bpaige ve. Vo-beirio an vponig oile amur ar na harimaið  
 gur gabadar a n-uilaimar vóib féin, irtig Maoilreacáinn  
 leir rin go fluaðbuidin rin teag ir lingio ar an líon  
 2850 loélonnac vo bí rin longpóirt, gur mapad uile iao vpir  
 caoirac ir vaorcapfluað ac Tuirgéisir amáin; agus iar  
 lomairic a longpúiric vóib beirio Tuirgéisir i lám go



the maiden set out, attended by her ladies, and went close up to the fortress, and sent a private message to Turgesius to inform him that herself and her ladies were near the house for the purpose of paying him a visit; and when he heard this, he directed the chiefs who were with him to go to their rooms, saying that he would send them women as he had promised. Thereupon they piled their arms into one heap on the table which was in the hall, and went to their rooms, each of them occupying a separate bed, waiting for these ladies to be distributed among them.

Now at this time Maoilseachlainn with a body of soldiers was with his daughter, and he directed a number of those youths who were with her disguised as women, the moment Turgesius should lay hands on his daughter for the purpose of detaining her with him, to seize him by force and take him captive, and another party to take possession of the arms that were in the house, and to spring upon the chiefs who were within; and he said that he himself with his body of soldiers would be near the house, and that he would rush into the house at the first cry to help them to slay the Lochlonnaigh. Thereupon the maiden with her ladies went in by a back door of the house and reached the room of Turgesius; and when they had come into his presence, he glanced at the maiden and her ladies and none of them pleased him but herself, and then he laid hands on her to detain her with him. When the youths who were with her saw this, a party of them seized Turgesius by force and made him captive; the remaining party seized the arms and held them in their possession, and then Maoilseachlainn with his party of soldiers came in, and they sprang on the party of Lochlonnaigh that were in the fortress, and slew them all, both chiefs and underlings except Turgesius alone; and when they had stripped the fortress bare they led Turgesius



uúinlior Maoilreacélaínn marí a paise fealaó i ngeibheann  
aca.

- 2855 Ar n-a élor iomorroí von méio Loélonnac vo bí i  
nÉirinn sup marbad na taoiriú vo bí orra féin, iṛ sup  
gabao Tuirgéis an t-anflait lé Maoilreacélaínn ní Míde,  
vo gab meatact iṛ mímeirneac iao, ionnur gac fuirceann  
oíob vo bíó i gceiorlae na tise iṛtiú i gcein ó bailtib  
2860 cuain, go mbíoir ag triall tré ealóú oíde o'fíor a long pé  
héirinn o'fágáil; agur an luét vo bíó i mbailtib cuain  
oíob vo bíoir 'n-a longail va noídean féin ar iomruagao  
na nGaedeal vo bíó ag cóirideact orra, ionnur sup  
oibheao Loélonnais uile a héirinn an tan roin, aet iarrmar  
2865 beag vo an fá rmaet na nGaedeal oíob. Agur i noiaú a  
ruagta vo bátao Tuirgéis lé Maoilreacélaínn i Loélinninn  
agur táinú von gníom roin sup togaada uairle Éirceann  
o'donadonta Maoilreacélaínn 'n-a airoirú ar Éirinn uile,  
tré marí vo fóirdeao an éiríe leir a hanbhoio Loélonnac.

- 2870 An tan fá haoir von Tigearna 877 aoiri Buccananur  
go o'táinú Treagóir ní Alban go rluas líonmair leir  
o'arraig Éirinn iṛ sup marbad brian iṛ Concubair va  
óionuóteoir níú Éirceann leir, ar mbeir vo níú Éirceann  
'n-a leand. Sídeao ní héirir ro vo beir píunneac, vo bíú  
2875 nac léagtar fan reandur go paise doirí ar Éirinn ruam ó  
aimirí Sláinú go Sabaltar Gall aet ní táinú lé toga an  
pobail agur lé harriactar a gníom iṛ lé neart a láime i  
gceannur Éirceann. Agur fóir fá hé Tuirgéis an t-anflait  
fá ní Éirceann an triac roin.

to the duinlios of Maoilseachlainn where they kept him for a time in captivity.

Now when all the Lochlonnaigh who were in Ireland heard that their chiefs were slain, and that Turgesius the tyrant had been captured by Maoilseachlainn, king of Meath, they grew dispirited and discouraged, so that every party of them who were in the interior of the country far from seaports used to escape secretly by night and make for their ships for the purpose of leaving Ireland; and those parties of them that were in the seaports used to fly to their ships to protect themselves from the onslaught of the Gaels who were in pursuit of them; so that the Lochlonnaigh were all banished from Ireland on that occasion except a small remnant of them who remained under the rule of the Gaels. And after they were banished Maoilseachlainn drowned Turgesius in Loch Ainninn, and this deed led to the nobles of Ireland choosing with one accord Maoilseachlainn as high king of all Ireland, since the country had been freed by him from the slavery of the Lochlonnaigh.

Buchanan says that Greaghoir, king of Alba, with a numerous host came to plunder Ireland in the year of the Lord 877, and that he slew Brian and Conchubhar, two guardians of the king of Ireland, as the king of Ireland was a child. But this cannot be true; since we do not read in the seanchus that there was ever any king of Ireland, from the time of Slainghe to the Norman Invasion, but a king who obtained the sovereignty of Ireland by the choice of the people, by the excellence of his exploits, and by the strength of his hand. And moreover, it was Turgesius the tyrant who was king of Ireland at that time.



## XIX.

2880 Do gab Maolrēaclainn mac Maolruanuió mic Donn-  
 éada mic Domnail mic Muiéada mic Diarmada mic  
 Airmeadóig Cáoi mic Conail Guitbinn mic Suibne Meinn  
 mic Colmáin Míoi mic Diarmada mic Feargura Ceiribeoil  
 2885 vo fíol Éireamóin ríogáct Éireann ré bliadna véas. Arós  
 ingean Cătăil mic Fiacrae ní bFeargusCúl máctair an  
 Maolrēaclainn-re.

Ar mbeir vo Loelonnaið ar a noibire lé Maolrēac-  
 lainn, amail aoubriamar, ir le huairlib Éireann, vo  
 cinnead comairle ran Noruaegia lé Fionnloelonnaið  
 2890 cionnur nó créad an moð 'n-a bréatfaaoir cor vo éur i  
 nÉirinn, i noóig mé huplamar Éireann va rioctain arir.  
 Ir é ní ar a vctangaoar triúri taoiread vo ba veairbriáire  
 va céile v'folaið uairle na Noruaegia v'ollmužad mé a  
 zsur i nÉirinn marí don mé cablad leo ar reilb ceannaið-  
 2895 eadta ir íomav vo gréitib geanamla ir vo feoirib uairle  
 mé a mbrionnad ir mé a meic mé fearaið Éireann, vo rúil mé  
 cáirvear ir mé rioctáin fear nÉireann vo greamužad;  
 asur leir rin zo bréatfaaoir zo cealgað clipe vo éur  
 ran éric va hatbuaioiread arir. As ro marí aoir Polic-  
 2900 nicon ar an ní-re: a "I noiaio báir Turgesir tångaoar  
 a hoirear na Noruaegia ar leirig rioctána ir ar rcáct  
 ceannaiðeadta triúri veairbriáir, amlaoið, Sircic ir  
 íomar, von oiléan-ro zo na bruiunn leo asur v'aoonta na  
 nÉireannað, as a raibe vúil i noiomaoimear, vo oruige-  
 2905 aoir nó vo tógbaoir triú baile éuain mé n-a n-aitiugad  
 vóib féin, marí atá i Doiric lairge, áct Cliað ir luimnead.  
 Asur va éir rin ar brár vo na vrongaib cáinis leo vo  
 lingoir zo minic ar áitigtoirib na críche."

a. Post obitum Turgesii de Noruaegiae partibus, quasi sub pacis  
 intuitu et mercaturae exercendae praetextu, tres fratres Amelanus,  
 Cyrus et Iuarus cum sua sequela in hanc insulam appulerunt, et de  
 consensu Ibernorum otio deditorum, maritima loca occupantes, tres



## XIX.

Maoilseachlainn, son of Maolruanuidh, son of Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, son of Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Airmeadhach Caoch, son of Conall Guithbhinn, son of Suibhne Meann, son of Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland sixteen years. Arog, daughter of Cathal, son of Fiachraidh, king of Feara Cul, was the mother of this Maoilseachlainn.

When the Lochlonnaigh had been banished by Maoilseachlainn, as we have said, and by the nobles of Ireland, the Fionnlochlonnaigh took counsel together in Norway as to how or by what means they might obtain a footing in Ireland in the hope of attaining to the mastery of Ireland once more. The plan they adopted was to get ready three leaders, who were brothers and of the noble blood of Norway, with a view to sending them with a fleet to Ireland on pretence of trading, and with many desirable commodities and many valuable jewels to bestow on and sell to the men of Ireland, in order to secure peace and alliance with them; so that they might thus deceitfully get a hold on the country and harass it once more. The Polycronicon refers to this affair thus: "After the death of Turgesius there came from the regions of Norway seeking for peace and on the pretext of trading three brothers, Amhlaoibh, Sitric and Iomhar to this island with their followers, and by the consent of the Irish who were fond of ease they set in order or built three seaports for their own residence, namely, Port Lairge, Ath Cliath and Luimneach. And after that, as the companies who came with them increased, they often made sudden attacks on the natives."

*civitates, viz., Waterfordiam, Dubliniam et Limericum construxerunt; qui tamen numero succrescentes contra indigenas frequenter insultabant.*

Ar na bhuáitíais-ge ir iontuigte supab lé ceilg an  
 2910 triairi taoiréac-ro fuairiadaí Fionnloélonnaig ón Noimadegia  
 áirac ar beir ag aicmilleac éiréann. Agus ir tré rá  
 adóbari vo éuadai i neart an átuairi i nÉirinn. An céad-  
 adóbari víob tré n-a lionmáire éiréac congnaí pluaig ir  
 loingir ón Noimadegia éuca ó aimirí go haimirí; agus an  
 2915 uairi haóbari tréir an eapadonta ir tréir an riorma ríori vo  
 bíob ioiri na Gaedelaib féin fán am roin sup traóac a  
 éile go móri leo. Agus fóir fá gnát leo congáil buann-  
 ácta vo éabairt vo Loélonnaib leat ar leat, go uáinig  
 óe rin sup gabadai ariacat ar átuairi i nÉirinn, ir go  
 2920 gabadai Gaedil fá ábhóirí aca ón am-ro go báir bhuain,  
 amail foillreóac a hannálaib éiréann fan tréac-ro  
 riomáinn ríori.

Ar mbeir iomóirí o'Fionnloélonnaib ag buairéac  
 éiréann ar an oiréac roin táinig loingear móri Dub-  
 2925 loélonnac ón Dania .i. Denmarke, go háit Cliaé, agus  
 ariagtar imeall na cíche ir marbairi iomao vo ráoinib  
 leo; agus leir rin cruinnigí Fionnloélonnaig 'n-a n-áirí,  
 sup fearac cat eadairi leat ar leat ag linn Duacúill,  
 mar ar bhuiréac o'Fionnloélonnaib ir mar ar marbairi mile  
 2930 víob; sup gabadai Dubloélonnaig neart móri i nÉirinn va  
 bítin rin. Agus go gíro va éir rin táinig ámlaoib mac  
 ríog Loélonn i nÉirinn vo gabáil bairántair Dainféarí nó  
 Dubloélonnac, agus vo éirí móirán o'fearaib éiréann fá  
 éiréacín vó.

2935 Ir fán am-ro fuairi Oléobair mac Cionaoča rí Muínan  
 báir, ir Flaiénia eapros buairi ir Cormac eapros Látrairí  
 buirí ir Miall mac Giolláin, ar mbeir tríóac bhuain  
 'n-a beacairí von fíori-ro gan bíad gan víg. Ir fán am-ro  
 vo bí ríogáil nó cóiméionól fear nÉiréann ag Ráit Áda



From these words it is to be inferred that it was by the deceit of these three leaders the Fionnlochlonnaigh from Norway found an opportunity once more of depredating Ireland. And they grew in strength once again in Ireland for two reasons. The first of these reasons was the abundance of help they got from Norway in soldiers and ships time after time; and the second reason was the disagreement and the constant dissension that existed among the Gaels themselves at that time, and in which they mutually spent much of their force. And, moreover, they were accustomed to give free quarters man for man to the Lochlonnaigh, whence came to pass that these obtained sway once more in Ireland, and that they held the Gaels once again in servitude from this time till the death of Brian, as we shall show from the annals of Ireland in the following narrative.

While the Fionnlochlonnaigh were harassing Ireland in this manner a large fleetful of Dubhlochlonnaigh came from Dania or Denmark to Ath Cliath, and they plundered the coast of the country and slew many people; and thereupon the Fionnlochlonnaigh assembled to meet them, and a battle was fought between them at Linn Duachuill where the Fionnlochlonnaigh were defeated and a thousand of them were slain; and the Dubhlochlonnaigh in consequence obtained great sway in Ireland. And soon after this Amhlaoibh, son of the king of Lochloinn, came to Ireland to become chief ruler of the Danes or Dubhlochlonnaigh, and he imposed a rent-tax on a great number of the men of Ireland.

It was about this time that Olchobhar, son of Cionaoth, king of Munster, died, also Flaithnia, bishop of Biorar, and Cormac, bishop of Latrach Briuin, and Niall, son of Giollan, this latter having lived thirty years without food or drink. It was about this time that a great assembly or convention of the men of Ireland was held at



2940 mic b'ic um Maoilreaclainn ní Teampad ír um Etgna  
comorba Pádraig as véanaí ríoda iorí fearaib éireann,  
asur ír ann rin tug Cearball ní Orriuge óigriéir vo  
comorba Pádraig.

Ír ann fór vo punne Maolguála mac Donnáile ní  
2945 Muhan ír Cearball ní Orriuge ceangal ríoda pé leir  
Cunn. Da éir rin vo marbadaí luét na Normanvie Maol-  
guála ní Muhan lé clocaib. Ír fán am-ro tug Maoil-  
reaclainn ní éireann Cat Orroma Dámuiqe, áit i utug ár  
mór ar loclonnaib áta Cliaé; ír fuair Donnall mac  
2950 Ailpín ní na b'ict bár. So g'íor da éir rin fuair Maoil-  
reaclainn ní éireann bár.

Vo gab doó Finnliat mac Néill Caille mic doóa  
Oirriuge mic Néill Fíaraig mic Feargáile mic Maoileuáin  
mic Maoilfíctig mic doóa Uaimiothnaig vo ríol éireamóin  
2955 ríogaéir éireann pé bliathna véas. Gormflaéir ingean  
Donnada mic Donnail mática doóa Finnleir ír Maol-  
muirpe, ingean Cionaoéa mic Ailpín ní Alban, a bean,  
mática Néill Glúnoirb.

Ír i b'laitear doóa Finnleir vo punnead na gníoma-ro  
2960 ríor .i. Concubair mac Donnada leirí Míoe vo marbad  
lé hamlaoib mac ríog loclonn i gCluain Iorair. Da éir  
rin vo éuar an camlaob-re go rluas lionmair vo locl-  
onnaib leir i b'oirpén i nAlbain, gur éreac ír gur airg  
na Pictí asur go utug a ngéill uata. Ír fán am-ro tug  
2965 doó Finnliat ní éireann cat móir ar loclonnaib loéa  
feabail go utug dá fícto ceann taoirig gan éolainn vóib  
leir, iar marbad dá míle véas vóib; asur ro éreac ír ro  
airg an longpóir iorí érad ír ionnmur. Ír g'íor 'n-a  
váir rin go b'fuair Conall earrog Cille Scíre bár; ír gur

Rath Aodha mic Bric under Maoilseachlainn, king of Teamhair, and Etgna, comhorba of Patrick, to make peace between the men of Ireland, and it was there Cearbhall, king of Osruighe, made submission to the comhorba of Patrick.

It was there also that Maolguala, son of Donnghal, king of Munster, and Cearbhall, king of Osruighe, made peace with Leath Cuinn. After this the people of Normandy stoned to death Maolguala, king of Munster. It was about this time that Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, fought the Battle of Drom Damhuighe, wherein he wreaked great slaughter on the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath; and Domhnall, son of Ailpin, king of the Picti, died. Soon after this Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, died.

Aodh Finnliath, son of Niall Caille, son of Aodh Oirndighe, son of Niall Frasach, son of Fearghal, son of Maolduin, son of Maoilfithrigh, son of Aodh Uairiodhnach of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland sixteen years. Gormflaith, daughter of Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, was mother of Aodh Finnliath, and Maolmuire, daughter of Cionaoth, son of Ailpin, king of Alba, his wife, mother of Niall Glundubh.

It was in the reign of Aodh Finnliath that the following events took place, to wit, Conchubhar, son of Donnchadh, half-king of Meath, was slain by Amhlaoibh, son of the king of Lochlloinn at Cluain Ioraird. After that this Amhlaoibh went with a numerous host of Lochlonnaigh to Foirthren in Alba, and pillaged and plundered the Picti and carried off hostages from them. It was about this time that Aodh Finnliath, king of Ireland, fought a great battle against the Lochlonnaigh of Loch Feabhail, and took away with him forty heads severed from the bodies of their leaders after he had slain twelve thousand of their number; and he robbed and plundered the fortress, spoiling it both of cattle and treasure. Soon after this Conall, bishop of Cill



- 2970 Loirceadh tóin Amhlaoibh níos loélonn i gCluain Dólcáin  
lé mac Shaoiétin i r lé mac Ciaráin mic Rónáin; sur marbhadh  
céad tairceadh do loélonnais leo. Da éir rin do hairgeadh  
i r do cheadadh Airt Maca lé hAmhlaoibh, i r do marbhadh míle  
do Shaebealaibh leir, i r tug iomao maoine i r mórcánach ar.
- 2975 I r fán am-ro fuair Ceannfaoilair mac Moicéirgeair do bí  
trí bliadhna déag bár, agus do gab Donnchadh mac Duibh  
da bhuirceann níosáit Muhan céirre bliadhna déag, agus  
tugadh cat i r na Pict i r Dubloélonnais, áit ar marbhadh  
iomao do na Pictib ann. Da éir rin táinig Ruóruige mac
- 2980 Moiríninn ní bhuirceann ar teirceadh ní Dubloélonnais go  
hÉirinn, agus tugadh tairce Coluim Cille a hálbain i  
nÉirinn ar teirceadh ní ar ruirge céadna.

- I r fán am-ro do níir Cóimac mic Cuileannáin do bí  
Loicán mac Laetna 'n-a níos Tuadhmuhan; i r an tan do
- 2985 bíoir Dál gCair tairce ní Tuadhmuhan i r aca do bíodh an  
ríoir tuair do níosáit Cairil ó cúil go ropar; agus do  
bíodh dá éirceadh déag do roinn aca mar aca ó léim Con  
gCulainn go bealach Mór i nOrruige agus ó Shlab eóirge  
go Shlab Eiblinne; agus i r aca do bíodh tairce fluaig
- 2990 Muirneadh ag uil i scoinne náimao, agus veirceadh ag  
bealuigadh ní, amail a veir Cóimac mac Cuileannáin fan  
pánn-ro:

tairce ag uil i veir náimao,  
i r veirceadh leo ag teadh tar air,  
2995 Ré méio a n-ág fíri gad noirgear,  
i r ní do ruircear Dál gCair.

Fuair doó Finnliadh ní Éirceann bár i nOrruim Ionarcluinne  
i gCúic Conaill; i r fuair Tigeairneadh mac Muirceadhais  
eairge Oroma Ionarcluinne bár an trád roin.

- 3000 Do gab flann Sionna mac Maoilfearclainn mic Maoil-  
puanair mic Donnchada mic Donnhaill mic Muirceada mic



Scire, died; and the dun of Amhlaoibh, king of Lochloinn, was burned in Cluain Dolcain by the son of Gaoithin and by the son of Ciaran, son of Ronan; and they slew a hundred leaders of the Lochlonnaigh. After that Amhlaoibh plundered and spoiled Ard Macha, and slew a thousand Gaels and took much wealth and a large tribute therefrom. It was about this time that Ceannfaolaidh, son of Moichthighearn, who was thirteen years of age, died, and Donnchadh son of Dubh dha Bhuireann, held the sovereignty of Munster fourteen years; and a battle was fought between the Picti and the Dubhlochlonnaigh in which many of the Picti were slain. After this Rudhruighe, son of Moirmhinn, king of Britain, came to Ireland, fleeing from the Dubhlochlonnaigh, and the relics of St. Columcille were brought from Alba to Ireland to save them from the same people.

It was about this time, according to Cormac son of Cuileannan, that Lorcan son of Lachtna, was king of Thomond; and when the Dal gCais possessed only Thomond, the northern side of the palace of Cashel from the extreme corner to the door belonged to them; and they had twelve cantreds of land to share among them, to wit, from Leim Chon gCulainn to Bealach Mor in Osruighe and from Sliabh Echtghe to Sliabh Eibhlinne, and it was they were in the van of the Munster host when going to meet the enemy, and in the rear when returning from them, as Cormac son of Cuileannan says in this stanza:

They are first marching into the enemy's country,  
They are last when returning,  
Through the greatness of their valour in every adversity,  
This it is that distinguishes the Dal gCais.

Aodh Finnliath, king of Ireland, died at Drom Ionascluinn in the district of Conall; and Tighearnach, son of Muireadhach, bishop of Drom Ionasclainn, died at this time.

Flann Sionna, son of Maoilseachlainn, son of Maolruanuidh, son of Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, son of

Ṫiarmada mic Airmeadúis Ćaoic mic Conaill Ćuitċinn  
mic Suibne Ćeinn do ċiol Éireamóin ċioċaċt Éireann ocċ  
mbliadna oċas ar ċicċ. Lann ingean Ṫúngail mic  
3005 Feairċaile ċi Oċruige mċaċai ċloinn mic Maolċeaċlainn.

1ċ i ċċlaitear ċloinn Sionna ċioċ Éireann do ċinnead  
na ċnioċa-ro ċioċ. Óiċ do ċairċead 1ċ do ċreaċad an  
Muċa uile leiċ an ċiċ-re 1ċ ċug ċraige uċa. 1ċ 'n-a  
ċlaitear ċóċ do mċibad Ṫomnall mċ Muirċigċin le 'n-a  
3010 ċompánaib ċéin, 1ċ ċuair ċiaċna mċ Ainbioċa mic Aoċa  
Róin do ċi 'n-a ċiċ Ulaċ doin bċiadain amċin bċr, aċur  
Ṫonnċad mċ Ṫuib oċa Ṫuireann ċi Muċan. 1ċ ċán am-ro  
do ċairċead Ćill Ṫaċa 1ċ Ćluain 1oċairċ le loċlonnaib;  
aċur do ċinne ċlann Sionna ċi Éireann aonċ Ṫaillċean  
3015 do ċommórad; 1ċ ċuair Ṫublaċċna mċ Maolċuala mic  
Ṫonnċaile do ċi 'n-a ċiċ Muċan reaċt mbliadna bċr, 1ċ  
do mċibad Siċuic mċ 1oċairċ le oċuing don Noċmanvie;  
1ċ do mċibad Aċeic mċ Laiċuig, do ċi 'n-a ċiċ Ulaċ, i  
bċeall le 'n-a ċompánaib ċéin; 1ċ do ċairċead Aċo Maċa  
3020 le loċlonnaib loċa ċeabail; ċuċ ċabċao Ćumurċaċ ċi  
Ulaċ ann, aċur Aoċ mċ Ćumurċaig a mċ; 1ċ ċuair  
Ṫomnall mċ Ćonċaintċin ċi Alban bċr.

Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Airmeadhach Caoch, son of Conall Guithbhinn, son of Suibhne Meann of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland thirty-eight years. Lann, daughter of Dunghal, son of Fearghal, king of Osruighe, was the mother of Flann, son of Maoil-seachlainn.

It was in the reign of Flann Sionna, king of Ireland, that the following events took place. For this king plundered and wasted all Munster and carried off captives therefrom. It was in his reign too that Domhnall, son of Muireigen was slain by his own companions, and Fiachna, son of Ainbhioth, son of Aodh Roin, who was king of Ulster for one year, and Donnchadh, son of Dubh dha Bhuireann, king of Munster, died. It was about this time that Cill Dara and Cluain Ioraird were plundered by the Lochlonnaigh; and Flonn Sionna, king of Ireland, convened the fair of Taillte; and Dubhlachtna, son of Maolguala, son of Donnghal, who was king of Munster seven years, died; and Sitric, son of Iomhar, was slain by a party from Normandy; and Aidheit, son of Laighneach, who was king of Ulster, was treacherously slain by his own companions; and Ard Macha was wasted by the Lochlonnaigh of Loch Feabhail, and there they seized on Cumuscach, king of Ulster, and Aodh mac Cumuscaigh, his son; and Domhnall, son of Constantin, king of Alba, died.



## XX.

Ir fán am-ro vo gáb Cormac mac Cuileannáin mic  
 Sealbaid mic Ailgionáin mic Eóclac mic Bhearsail mic  
 3025 Dongfura mic Natfmaoié mic Cuirc mic Luigdeac gaoir mic  
 Oiliolla flann big mic Fiacac Muilleacáin mic Eogain  
 móir mic Oiliolla Óluim ríogaét Mumhan feaét mbliadna.  
 Agus fá móir naé éireann pé linn Cormaic vo beir i  
 bflaitear Mumhan. Óir vo líonad éire vo naé diaða ir  
 3030 vo fonar faogalta ir vo ríotéáin coiténinn pé n-a linn,  
 ionnuf naé bioú buacail ag boin ná doðaire ag tpero 'n-a  
 réimear; agus vo bioú anacal ag peilgib pé a linn; ir vo  
 ríonad iomao teampull ir mainiurteac ir rcol gcoitceann  
 pé múnad léiginn bpeiteamhair ir reancura pé a linn, ir  
 3035 iomao treabha, iomao beac ir beaclann, iomao triortce ir  
 urnuigte ir gaca crábad ar éana; ir iomao teac n-doiðeac  
 'ga noéanam ir leabair va rcriobad pé n-a linn: agus gac  
 maic vo foráilead ar éac vo véanam, go ngníomuiðeac  
 féin rompa i, ioiri véire vaoonac urnuigte airreann ir gac  
 3040 veiggníom oile ó foim amac. Agus fóir vo bí vo naé air,  
 an méir loclonnac vo bí i nÉirinn pé rogal vo véanam,  
 gur éirígeadar an éiríac an fead vo bí reirean i bflaitear  
 Mumhan.

Tarla iomorro Cormac mac Cuileannáin 'n-a coimnuide  
 3045 i gCairéal pé huét na Gáirca gur cuir fógra fá na hEogain-  
 acáir 'ga naé míu biaú ir lón vo cuir pé huét na féile  
 uairle cuige go Cairéal, agus vo éimgeadar é. Ar n-a  
 élor rin iomorro vo óal gCair cuir biaú ir lóinte  
 iomda go Cormac ionnuf go naibe buideac úioib. Cuirir  
 3050 Cormac teacra air go ríol nEogain 'ga iairmar orra  
 reortce ir maoin vo cuir cuige pé a mbionnad vo veoradair  
 ó naí cuirgeadar biaú cuige; agus ir ead vo pinneadar

## XX.

It was about this time that Cormac, son of Cuileannan, son of Sealbhach, son of Ailghionan, son of Eochaidh, son of Breasal, son of Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, son of Corc, son of Lughaidh Gaot, son of Oilill Flann Beag, son of Fiachaidh Muilleathan, son of Eoghan Mor, son of Oiill Olom, held the sovereignty of Munster seven years. And great was the prosperity of Ireland while Cormac reigned over Munster. For Ireland was filled with divine favour and worldly prosperity and constant peace in his time, so that cattle were without a herd and flocks without a shepherd during his reign; and cemeteries were protected in his time, and many churches and monasteries and public schools to teach letters, law and seanchus were built in his time; and there was much tilled land, many bees, many beehives, much fasting and prayer and piety of every kind; and many guest houses were being built and many books were being written in his time. And every good deed he asked others to do he did himself first, as almsgiving, mercy, prayer, Mass and every other such good action. And, moreover, he was fortunate in this that the party of Lochlonnaigh who were in Ireland for purposes of plunder abandoned the country while he reigned over Munster.

Now it happened that Cormac son of Cuileannan, was dwelling at Cashel on the approach of Easter, and he made proclamation throughout the Eoghanachts asking them to send to him to Cashel food and provisions with a view to the noble festival, and they refused him. But when the Dal gCais heard this they sent abundance of food and provisions to Cormac so that he was grateful to them. Cormac again sent messengers to the race of Eoghan asking them to send him jewels and valuables with a view to bestowing them on strangers since they did not send him food, but what the race of Eoghan did,



ríol nEogain na háirim i' na hearriada i' meara do bí aca  
 do éur éuige a'gur fá' uimúac úioib é' trío rin. Ar n-a  
 3055 élor rin éana do Dál gCair cuirio mo'ga a'rim i' éavai'g i'  
 reo' éuige mé a mbionnao' go' maibe buí'oeac' úioib i' go'  
 utu'g a' beanna'et' uóib, amáil a'ueir pé' réin ran' man-ro:

3060

go' utu'gair' uóib ar' nu'et'ra'et,  
 do' élan'naib' táil na' ut'réinne'ar'et,  
 ri'ge éaoin go' b'ra'et bua'ine'ar'et,  
 lao'et'ra'et op'ra'et cru'et éle'ine'ar'et.

Léa'gair' linn ran' rean'c'ur go' ma'ba'ar' ée'it'pe' pi'g i' v'a'  
 f'ic'io do' ríol Eogain i' b'la'ite'ar' Mu'man ó' pé' don'gura mic  
 na'c'ra'oi'c' go' ma'c'ga'main mac Cinnéio'ro, i' na'c' maibe an  
 3065 fea'ó' roin' a'g' Dál gCair' a'et' pi'o'ga'et' Tu'ao'mu'man (a'et'  
 lo'p'cán do' bí b'lia'úain go' le'it' ann i' no'ia'io' é'or'maic mic  
 Cuileannáin do' péir' uí' D'ub'ga'm go' b'ru'air' bá'r i' g'c'ionn  
 na' pé' rin), ma'r' a'tá ó' Sl'ige Dála mé a' pá'io'te'ar' beala'c'  
 mó'r' O'rr'ui'ge go' léim éon' g'Cu'lainn i' n-ia'p'tar' Co'p'ca  
 3070 ba'ir'cinn, a'gur i' i'ao' an' Dál gCair' é'ea'ona do' bio'ú  
 mé' f'p'ea'rtal co'ga'io' i' n-a'ga'io' la'igean i' le'ite Cu'inn  
 a'g' pi'o'ga'ib' Cair'il; go'na'ó' uime rin' a'ueir' f'ile é'ig'in  
 an' man-ro:

3075

U'lea'gair' do' f'lu'ag' f'iol' lu'ig'oeac'  
 f'p'ea'et'nu'ga'ó' ca'et' f'lu'ag' mu'mineac'  
 a'gur' be'it' i' lu'ig' fá' é'eo'io'  
 a' é'p'io'c'uib' ána' a'imeo'it.

Ia'r' g'ca'ite'ain' i'omoi'p'io' f'ea'et' mb'lia'úan do' é'or'mac mac  
 Cuileannáin i' b'la'ite'ar' Mu'man go' pi'o'úac' rona' amáil  
 3080 a'ou'bp'ia'ma'r', g'p'io'p'tar' lé' cu'io' u'ua'ir'lib' na' Mu'man é,  
 a'gur go' há'ip'te' lé' f'la'it'bea'rtac' mac Ion'mainéim abb  
 in'p'e' Ca'ta'ig, do' bí' von' f'u'il' pi'o'g'oa, u'ag'p'a' a'ip'uo'io'ra  
 ar' é'ú'ig'ea'ó' la'igean ar' m'be'it' do' le'it' mo'ga' uí. Le'ir'  
 rin' cu'ip'ur' Co'p'mac' é'p'u'inn'nu'ga'ó' i' co'm'it'ionól ar' f'lu'ag'uib'  
 3085 Mu'man go' haon'lá'ta'ir. A'gur ar' p'o'et'ain go' ha'oin'iona'ó'  
 u'a' n-ua'ir'lib' i' co'ma'ip'ile ar' ar' cin'nea'ó' leo' uul' do'  
 é'a'ba'c' an' a'ip'uo'io'ra ar' la'ig'nib' i' g'ea'rt' na' ponna' do'



was to send him the worst arms and apparel they had, and hence he was displeased with them. Now, when the Dal gCais heard this they sent him the choicest arms and apparel and jewels to make gifts of, and he was grateful to them and gave them his blessing, as he himself says in this stanza :

May our sincerest wish be given them,  
To the powerful race of Tal,  
Fair sovereignty enduring for ever,  
Heroism, honour, comeliness, cleric virtues.

We read in the seanchus that there were forty kings on the throne of Munster from the time of Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, to Mathghamhain, son of Cinneide, and that during that time the Dal gCais possessed only Thomond (except Lorcan, who reigned a year and a half after Cormac son of Cuileannan, according to O Dubhagain, and died at the end of that time), namely, from Slighe Dhala which is called Bealach Mor Osruighe to Leim Chon gCulainn in the west of Corca Baiscinn; and it was the same Dal gCais who used to serve in the wars for the king of Cashel against Leinster and Leath Cuinn. Hence some poet says in this stanza :

It is the right of the host of the race of Lughaidh  
To lead in battle the Munster hosts,  
And to be in the rear afterwards,  
Coming from proud unknown lands.

Now when Cormac son of Cuileannan, had been ten years on the throne of Munster in peace and prosperity, as we have said, he was egged on by some of the nobles of Munster, and in particular by Flaithbheartach, son of Ionmhainen, abbot of Inis Cathach, who was of the royal blood, to exact head tribute from the province of Leinster since it belonged to Leath Mogha. Accordingly he assembled and brought together the Munster forces, and when their nobles had come together they resolved to go and demand head tribute from the Leinstermen by right of the

rinneadh iomr mór nuadhac i r Conn. Siúeadh fá leat  
 lé Cormac triall ar an eadtra rion, vo bñí g sur  
 3090 foillrígeadh nó go dtuitfeadh ran tuar rion. Tairir  
 rin doncuigir oul ann, i r mé huét iméadta nó, vo  
 fágaib leagáide ar a anmain ag eadailrīb prinnrio-  
 pála éiríeann, mar atá uinge o'airgeadh i r uinge o'ór  
 i r a eairiadh i r a ead ag Oruim Abriac .i. Arvo Fionáin;  
 3095 corin óir i r airgíu i r coéall ríóill ag Lior Mór;  
 corin óir i r airgíu i r éiríe uinge o'ór i r céad uinge  
 o'airgeadh ag Cairéal; trí huinge o'ór i r leabair airínn  
 ag imleac tobair; uinge o'ór i r uinge o'airgeadh vo  
 gleann dá loc; eairiadh i r ead uinge o'ór i r briac ríóill  
 3100 vo éill Dara; éiríe uinge ríeadh o'airgeadh i r o'ór ag  
 Arvo Macá; trí huinge o'ór ag Inir Catáig; trí huinge  
 o'ór i r coéall ríóill ag Mungairíu agur beannaét  
 Cormaic.

I r mór iomrrio an teir vo-beir Cormac ar éim-  
 3105 éionól Mungairíe, aílail léagtar ran duain darab  
 torac: A gille ceangail ar lóin, mar a gcuiríeann ríor  
 an lion manac vo bí ran éiméionól ag freartal na ré  
 oteampull vo bí ran éill. Catáir Deodain Neardain  
 gairítear von éill rin. Ag ro an lion manac vo bí innce,  
 3110 mar atá cúig céad manac foglumta mé reannóir; ré céad  
 pralmarie mé freartal coriadh; i r éiríe céad reannóir mé  
 iunnfíteadh nó mé contemplation.

Dála Cormaic mé huét triallta i laigrib nó, vo éir  
 ríor ar loicán mac laetna mí Dál gCair agur ar noétain  
 3115 go rígeadh Cairil nó, fáiltigir Cormac noiúe i r noétair  
 o'uairlīb ríl neogáin vo bí 'n-a foéair gurb vo loicán  
 fá dual flaitéar Muíman vo gabáil da éir réin vo méir  
 uadta Oiliolle Óluim léir horuigeadh flaitéar Muíman



partition which was made between Mogh Nuadhat and Conn. But Cormac was reluctant to go on this expedition as he had a foreboding that he was to fall in the adventure. Still he consented to go, and just before he set out he left legacies for the sake of his soul to the principal churches of Ireland, to wit, an ounce of silver and an ounce of gold and his trappings and his steed to Drom Abhrad, that is Ard Fionain. A chalice of gold and silver and a satin chasuble to Lis Mor; a chalice of gold and silver and four ounces of gold and a hundred ounces of silver to Cashel; three ounces of gold and a missal to Imleach Iobhair; an ounce of gold and an ounce of silver to Gleann da Loch; trappings and a steed, an ounce of gold, and a satin cope to Cill Dara; twenty-four ounces of silver and of gold to Ard Macha; three ounces of gold to Inis Cathaigh; three ounces of gold and a satin chasuble to Mungairid and the blessing of Cormac.

High, indeed, was the testimony Cormac bore to the community of Mungairid, as we read in the poem which begins: O servant bind our provisions, in which he gives the number of the monks who were in the community serving the six temples that were in the church. The cathair of Neasan, the Deacon, that church is called. Here is the number of the monks that were in it, to wit, five hundred learned monks for preaching, six hundred psalm-singers to attend choir, and four hundred aged men for contemplation.

As to Cormac when he was about to set out for Leinster he sent for Lorcan, son of Lochtna, king of Dal gCas, and when he reached the palace at Cashel, Cormac bade him welcome, and he made it known to the nobles of the race of Eoghan who were with him that it was Lorcan who had the true title to the kingdom of Munster after him according to the will of Oilill Olom, by which it was ordained that the sovereignty of Munster should each alternate generation



do beirte gac mé nglún ag flioct fíadao Muilleadain ir  
 3120 ag flioct Cormaic Cair. Siúeas níor comailleadó toil  
 Cormaic ran ní rin.

Iomtúra Cormaic iomorro ar dtionól mórfíluaḡ bfeap  
 Mumhan dó féin ir do flaitbheartac mac Ionmháinein  
 triallair 1 laighnib d'iarraio briaḡoe nó ciofa orra do  
 3125 díol mé piḡ Mumhan ar mbeirte do leir Moḡa dóib. Ar  
 mbeirte do fluaḡ Mumhan 1 n-aon longpóirt mé triall ran  
 tuar roin dóib, do éuaio flaitbheartac mac Ionmháinein  
 abb Inre Caḡaḡ ar a eac ar fuo rraioe an longpóirt, ir  
 do éuit an t-eac 1 ḡclair doimhin raoi, ir ba orocḡairtine do-  
 3130 ran rin. Táinig de rin rocuioe da muinntir ir von trluaḡ  
 uile d'anmáin ón tuar roin, óir do ba orocḡuar leo tuirim  
 an duine naomḡa mé noul ar eacḡra dóib.

Táḡadair tria teacḡa uairle ó laighnib ir ó Céar-  
 ball mac Muirgein d'ionnruige ar Cormac ar dtúr  
 3135 ir taḡraio teacḡairteacḡa fíoda iur ó laighnib .i. doim-  
 triot amáin do beirte 1 néirinn uile ḡo bealltaine ar  
 a ḡcionn, óir coiuoir d'foḡmair an tain roin, aḡur  
 briaḡoe do tabairt 1 láim maonaḡ abb Oirir  
 Diaḡmada .i. duine naomḡa eagnuioe cpaibḡeac an fear  
 3140 roin, aḡur iomaḡ reoḡ ir maiteara do tabairt do  
 Cormac ir do flaitbheartac ó laighnib 1 ḡcommaoir na  
 ríocḡana roin. Do ba lánroil lé Cormac an triot  
 roin do téanaḡ, ir táinig da foillruḡaḡ do flaitbhear-  
 tac ḡo tanaḡadair teacḡa ó piḡ laigean cuige d'iarraio  
 3145 ríoda ḡo bealltaine ar a ḡcionn, ir do taḡḡrin réao ir  
 maoiné dóib ar aon ó laighnib tré tilleao von muman  
 tar a n-air ḡo ríoda. An tan do éualair flaitbheartac  
 rin ḡabair fearḡa d'balmoir é, aḡur ir eao piḡ ráio: "Ir  
 urra a aicne ar maioite do meannman veapóile t'intinne

be held by the race of Fiachaidh Muilleathan and the race of Cormac Cas. But the wish of Cormac was not given effect to in this matter.

Now as to Cormac when he and Flaithbheartach, son of Ionmhainen, had got together a large army of Munstermen, they proceeded to Leinster to demand hostages or rent for the king of Munster, as the people of Leinster belonged to Leath Mogha. While the Munster host were in one camp before setting out on that expedition, Flaithbheartach, son of Ionmhainen, abbot of Inis Cathaigh, went on his horse through the laneway of the camp, and his horse fell under him into a deep trench and that was an ill-omen for him. This caused a large number of his followers and of the entire host to abandon this march, as they regarded the holy man's fall as a bad omen before their setting out on an expedition.

Now noble envoys from the Leinstermen and from Cearbhall, son of Muireigen, came to interview Cormac first, and brought him an offer of peace from the Leinstermen, to wit, that there should be general peace in Ireland until the coming Bealltaine, for a fortnight of autumn was just then over, and hostages were to be given into the hands of Maonach, abbot of Disirt Diarmada, who was a holy, wise, pious man, and the Leinstermen were to give Cormac and Flaithbheartach a large amount of valuables and wealth in consideration of that peace. Cormac was well pleased to make this peace, and went and made known to Flaithbheartach that there had come to him envoys from the king of Leinster asking for peace until the coming Bealltaine, and offering both of them valuables and wealth from the Leinstermen if they returned to Munster in peace. When Flaithbheartach heard this he became greatly enraged and said: "From thy feeble courage it is very easy to judge how miserable thy mind and spirit," and he



3150 1<sup>o</sup> é 'áigeanta," agus tug iomaó táir 1<sup>o</sup> tarcairne ar  
Cormac an trát roin.

1<sup>o</sup> é fheadhra tug Cormac ari-gean: "1<sup>o</sup> veimín liom-  
ra." ar Cormac, "an ní éiofar ve rin .i. caé vo éabairt  
vo laighnib, 1<sup>o</sup> muirbriúear mure ann, agus 1<sup>o</sup> corráil vo  
3155 báir-ja vo éigeaét ve." Agus an tan aubairt Cormac  
na briátra roin, táinig va púall féin 1<sup>o</sup> é tuirreac  
uobríonac, agus an tan vo fúió, tugad roiteac uball éuige  
1<sup>o</sup> gábir ag a roinn ar a muinntir agus 1<sup>o</sup> ead vo ráió:  
"A muinntir ionmáin," ar ré, "ní roinnfead-ja ubla  
3160 oraid ón uair-ge amac go brát." "Ó a éigeanna ion-  
máin," ar a muinntear, "tugair orainn-ne beit uobríonac  
tuirreac 1<sup>o</sup> fá minic leat roicéfairtine vo véanaí vuit  
féin." "Créad rin, a muinntear éioíoe," ar Cormac,  
"óir 1<sup>o</sup> beag an t-iongnad gion go tuigainn-ge ubla ar  
3165 mo láim féin daob go mbiaó neac éigin oile im fárraó  
vo fínfead ubla daob." Iar rin vo iarri Cormac for-  
fáire vo éur 'n-a éiméall, 1<sup>o</sup> vo iarri an tuine cráibteac  
Maonac .i. comorba Comgail vo éabairt éuige go  
nvearad a faoirvoin 1<sup>o</sup> a éiomna 'n-a láfair; 1<sup>o</sup> vo éait  
3170 Corp Críort 'n-a fiaónaire 1<sup>o</sup> vo úiúlt ré von traogal vo  
láfair Maonag. Óir vo ba vearb lé Cormac go muir-  
briúe ran gac roin é féin; gíoead níor máit leir a fíor  
rin vo beit ag a muinntir.

Vo orvuig iomorro a éorp vo breit go Cluain Uama,  
3175 dá mbeit ar cumar vo éac a breit ann, 1<sup>o</sup> muna mbeit, a  
breit go roilg Diaimada mic Aoda Róin .i. Oirre  
Diaimada, áit a maibe féin va fogluim i bfaó d'aimrír.  
Gíoead vo b'feair leir a aónacal i gCluain Uama ag  
mac Léinín. Ba feair iomorro mé Maonac a aónacal  
3180 i nOirre Diaimada mar a maibe coiméionól manac vo  
muinntir Comgail, 1<sup>o</sup> fá hé Maonac comarba Comgail  
an tan roin agus fá tuine cráibteac eagruíoe é, agus



poured out much abuse and insult on Cormac on that occasion.

Cormac answered him thus: "I know well," said he, "what will come of this, to wit, battle will be given to the Leinstermen and I shall be slain, and it is likely that thy death will also come of it." And when Cormac had said these words he went into his own tent troubled and sad, and when he sat down a vessel of apples was brought to him and he began to distribute them among his people, saying: "My beloved people," said he, "I shall not distribute apples among you from this time forth for ever." "O beloved lord," said his people, "thou hast made us sad and sorrowful, and thou has often forboded ill for thyself." "How is this, O people of my heart," said Cormac, "for it is no great wonder that even though I should not give you apples with my own hand there will be some one else with me to give them to you." After this Cormac ordered that a guard be set round him, and that the pious man Maonach, namely the comhorba of Comhghall, be brought to him so that he might make his confession and his will in his presence; and he partook of the Body of Christ in his presence, and he renounced the world before Maonach, for Cormac felt sure that he himself would be slain in that battle, still he did not like his people to know this.

Now he ordered that his body be taken to Cluain Uama, if it could be taken there with general convenience, and if not that it be taken to the churchyard of Diarmaid, son of Aodh Roin, that is Disirt Diarmada where he was a student for a long time. However, he preferred to be buried at Cluain Uama with the son of Leinin. But Maonach preferred he should be buried at Disirt Diarmada where there was a community of the monks of Comhghall, and Maonach was then Comhghall's comhorba, and he was a pious wise man, and he endured great hardship and labour in his endeavour to arrange peace between

ir móir u'ile ir do fáoṁar fuair aḡ iarrmaid ríoda do  
 éarriainḡ ioir laigrib ir níg Muḡan an tan roin.

- 3185 Ácṡ éana ḡluairto iomao u'feairib Muḡan ḡo neim-  
 éaruiḡéac ar an ḡcat óir do éualadar flann mac  
 Maoilfeaclainn nī éipeann do beir i longróir laigean  
 ḡo rluag lionḡar da ḡcoir ir ar marcaíveacṡ. Ir ann  
 rin do náo Maoṡac, “A úeagṡoaine Muḡan,” ar ré,  
 3190 “do buṡ cñionna úaoib na bñaiḡve maite éairḡéar  
 aoib do ḡabáil i n-oirláim úaoine ḡcñibṡéac ḡo beall-  
 éaine, .i. mac Cearbail níos laigean ir mac níos  
 Orruiḡe.” Do bádar nī Muḡan uile aḡ a náo u'aoṡ-  
 ḡlór ḡurab é flaitṡearṡac mac ionḡainéin do éoiréiḡnḡ  
 3195 iao um éiḡeacṡ i laigrib.

- A haile na caraoir rin trallair nī Muḡain tar  
 Sliaḡ Maḡe roir ḡo Oñioéao Léitḡlinne. Do éom-  
 nuṡ iomoirio Tiobairve comorba ailbe ir buívean móir  
 do éléirib mar don nīr i Léitḡlinn, ir ḡiollaíoe an  
 3200 trluag ir a ḡcapail lóin. Do rinneao iar rin rṡuic ir  
 cairmeairṡac caṡa aḡ feairib Muḡan ir táḡadar nōpa  
 i Maḡ nailbe. Do bádar ann rin i n-uṡ éoille ir  
 uainḡin aḡ fuíeac nīr an námao. Do nōḡar nīr  
 Muḡan nī caṡa comḡópa úioḡ féin, mar acá flait-  
 3205 ṡearṡac mac ionḡainéin ir Ceallaṡ mac Cearbail nī  
 Orruiḡe i ḡceannar feaṡna an éarúcaṡ; Cormac mac  
 Cuilleannáin nī Muḡan ór cionn an uarṡ caṡa; Cormac  
 mac Moṡla nī na nDéire ir fuíeann u'uarlīb Muḡan  
 ór cionn an trear caṡa. Táḡadar iomoirio amlair rin  
 3210 ar Maḡ nailbe, aḡur fá ḡearánaṡ iao ar iomao a námao  
 ir ar a luḡeao féin do rluag. Óir ir eao rñioḡair  
 uḡoair ḡo maḡadar laḡin éeirve uíeao do rluag nē  
 feairib Muḡan. Ba truaḡ iomoirio an ḡáir do bí ran  
 ḡcat-ro amail innirio eolag .i. ḡáir aḡ rluag Muḡan aḡa  
 3215 marṡao, ir ḡáir aḡ rluag laigean aḡ comḡaoiréam an  
 marṡa roin.



the Leinstermen and the king of Munster on that occasion.

Now many Munstermen deserted the expedition without leave when they heard that Flann, son of Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, was in the camp of the Leinstermen with a numerous host of infantry and cavalry. Thereupon Maonach said: "Good people of Munster you should be acting wisely in giving the good hostages offered you into the hands of virtuous people until Bealltaine, to wit, the son of Cearbhall, king of Leinster, and the son of the king of Osruighe. All the Munstermen replied with one voice that it was Flaithbheartach, son of Ionmhainen, who forced them to go to Leinster.

After this contention the Munstermen proceeded eastward over Sliabh Mairge to Droichead Leithghlinne. Now Tiobraide the comhorba of Ailbhe and a large party of clerics rested at Leithghlinn as well as the camp-followers and the baggage horses. After this the Munstermen sounded their trumpets and gave the alarm of battle and proceeded to Magh nAilbhe. They rested there in the bosom of a wood and fastness awaiting the enemy. The Munstermen divided themselves into three equal battalions with Flaithbheartach, son of Ionmhainen, and Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, king of Osruighe, in command of the first battalion, Cormac, son of Cuileannan, king of Munster, in command of the second battalion, and Cormac, son of Mothla, king of the Deise, and a party of Munster nobles in command of the third battalion. Now in this array they reached Magh nAilbhe, and they were complaining of the multitude of the enemy and of the smallness of their own host. For authors write that the Leinstermen had a host four times as numerous as the Munstermen. Pitiful indeed was the cry from this battle as the learned relate, that is, the cry of the Munstermen who were being slain, and the cry of the Leinstermen who were exulting over that slaughter.



Tá cúir éana fá veaia bhuieadú go hobann o'fearaib  
 Muíman .i. Céileadair bhrádaí Cinn Séagóin ríog Muíman  
 vo éuaró ar a ead ír marí páiníis uirre ír eadó duubairt:  
 3220 "A faorclanna Muíman," ar ré, "ceitíú go luat ón  
 scaé aduadmaí-ro ír léigíú vo na cléiríib féin catužadú  
 vo úéanaim ó narí fadbrao cumaiú oile aét cat vo éabairt  
 vo laigníb." Triallair Céileadair ír roéaire maille mír  
 a ládaí an éata amlaiú rin. Cúir oile fáir bhuieadú  
 3225 o'fearaib Muíman .i. Ceallac mac Cearbhaill marí vo  
 éonairc ré a muinntear 'ga uuarhain go tinnearnac  
 ran éat, vo ling go hobann ar a ead ír duubairt ré a  
 muinntir, "Éirigíú ar bair n-eacáib," ar ré, "ír víbriú  
 uaiú an luét aatá i nbaí n-ažadú." Agus gé duubairt  
 3230 rin ní vo catužadú duubairt é, aét vo teiteadú. Táiníis  
 von tá cúir rin supí fadabair rin Muíman bhuieadú éuca, i  
 n-aoineadé. Ué tría ba móir an t-árí baor ar fuo Maíge  
 Ailbe an tan roin. Óir ní tugéao comairce vo cléiríac  
 reoc laoc ann gan commaibadú vo éabairt oirra leat ar  
 3235 leat. Agus an tríat vo haincíre laoc nó cléiríac leo,  
 ní vo éirícaíe vo-níoir rin aét vo fainnt ré fuarclaú  
 o'fagáil arta.

Triallair Cormac mac Cuilleannáin i uorac an  
 éadocata. Gréad vo ling a ead i gclair uaiú ír vo éuit  
 3240 reiréan oi, ír vo éonncadair oriong va muinntir vo bí ag  
 teiteadú ar an maíom é, ír tángadair va forcaét supí  
 éuiréadair ar a ead é. Ír ann rin vo éonncair Cormac  
 ualca faorclannua oó féin, aot a ainm, faoi eagna ír  
 breiteamnaí ír reanúra ír laíone an fear roin, agus  
 3245 ír eadó duubairt an ní Cormac mír. "A míc ionmáin,"  
 ar ré, "ná lean díom-ra, aét beir ar tú marí ír fearí go  
 otiofaiú mrot, agus vo innir mé uuit go muirbriúe ran  
 scaé-ro mé. Triallair Cormac roime agus fá íomda fuil  
 uaoime ír ead ar fead na rliúe rin supí reoirrao cora  
 3250 veiríú an eic vo bí faoi, ré fleimne na rliúe ó loirg na

Now the sudden defeat of the Munstermen was owing to two causes, namely, Ceileachair, kinsman of Cenn Gheagain, one time king of Munster, mounted his horse, and when he had mounted he said: "O freemen of Munster," said he, "fly this awful battle and leave the clerics themselves to fight, as they accepted no other offer but to give battle to the Leinstermen." With that Ceileachair and a multitude with him quitted the battle-field. Another cause of the defeat of the Munstermen was that when Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, saw his people being smitten stoutly in the battle he suddenly mounted his horse and said to his followers: "Mount your horses," said he, "and dismiss those that are opposed to you," and though he said this it was not to fighting he referred, but to flight. It followed from these two causes that there was a general rout of the men of Munster. Alas, great was the slaughter throughout Magh nAilbhe on that occasion. For clerics were no more spared than laics, but were slain equally with them on either side; and when they spared a cleric or a laic, it was not through mercy but through avarice they did so, in the hope of getting ransom-money on their account.

Cormac son of Cuileannan went to the forefront of the leading battalion. But his horse jumped into a drain under him and he got unhorsed, and a party of his followers who were fleeing from the battle saw him and came to his aid and placed him on his horse. Then did Cormac notice a freeborn foster-son of his own, whose name was Aodh, a man learned in wisdom, in law, in history and in Latin, and king Cormac spoke to him thus: "Beloved son," said he, "do not stay with me, but escape as best thou canst; and I told thee that I should be slain in this battle." Cormac advanced, and much blood of men and steeds lay along his path, and the hind legs of the horse under him slipped through the slipperiness of



rola. Tuitir an t-eac leir rin tar a hair go dtarla  
 Cormac fúite, gur bhuiréad a muinéal ir a óruim mar  
 don ran earcar poin. Agus dúbhairt ag tuitim óó: In  
 manus tuas et relq. Éagair ran trác poin agus tigró an  
 3255 muinntear malluigíte gur gabadar da ngaotáib ann, agus  
 do beanad a ceann de.

Aveir Doctúir Hanmer 'n-a époinic gurab le Loelonn-  
 naib do tuit Cormac mac Cuileannáin ir Cearball mac  
 Muirgeigin ní laigean, an tan pá haoir don Tigearna 905.  
 3260 Gíreab ní fíor do Hanmer ro; óir níor tuit Cearball  
 ann, agus ní hia Loelonnaig do éuir an cat aet flann  
 Sionna ní éireann, mar ir follur ar an rtair né páirtear  
 Cat bealaig Muigna, mar ar tuit Mac Cuileannáin.

1 bpiopórac iomorro an cáta-ro do marbad Ceallac  
 3265 mac Cearbail ní Orruige ir a mac. Ir móir do  
 éléirib maré ir do píogáib, do táoiréadáib ir do  
 laóéirib, do marbad ran cáta-ro. Do marbad ann  
 Fogaírac mac Suibne ní Ciarráide, ir Oilill mac Eogáin,  
 ouine uapal óg eagnuibe, ir Colmán abb Cinn Eitig  
 3270 aroollan bpeiteamair éireann, ir rocuibe móir mar  
 don piú. Ag ro na huairle do tuit ann .i. Cormac ní na  
 nDéire, Dubagán ní bfeair Maige; Ceannfaoláir ní Ua  
 gConaill; Conn a hádair, Ainéirliir v'Uib Toirprealbaiig,  
 Eirion ní Eirne do bí ar ionnarbad ran Mumain; Maol-  
 3275 muir, Madagán, Dub óá buireann, Conall, Fearadac, Doó  
 ní Ua Liacáin, ir Doimnall ní Dúin Cearmna. Ir iao trá  
 do bhir an cáta-ro ar Muimneadáib .i. flann mac Maol-  
 feaclainn, ní éireann, ir Cearball mac Muirgeigin, ní  
 laigean, ir Taóg mac faoláin, ní Ua gCinnfealaig, ir  
 3280 Temneanain ní Ua nDeagad, Ceallac ir Lorcán dá píig na



the way which was marked with blood. Thereupon the horse fell backwards and Cormac fell under it and his neck and back were together broken in that fall; and as he fell he said: "Into Thy hands, O Lord," etc. He died on the spot, and the unruly folk came and assailed him with javelins and his head was cut off.

Dr. Hanmer says in his chronicle that it was by the Lochlonnaigh that Cormac son of Cuileannan, and Cearbhall son of Muireigen, king of Leinster, fell in the year of the Lord 905. But this statement of Hanmer's is false, for Cearbhall did not fall on this occasion, and it was not the Lochlonnaigh who fought the battle but Flann Sionna, king of Ireland, as is evident from the historic tract called the "Battle of Bealach Mughna," in which battle the son of Cuileannan fell.

Now in the very beginning of this battle Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, king of Osruighe, and his son were slain. Many were the good clerics, the kings, the chiefs and the warriors that were slain in this battle. There were slain there Foghartach son of Suibhne, king of Ciarraidhe, and Oilill son of Eoghan, a young prudent noble, and Colman, abbot of Ceann Eiteach, chief judicial ollamh of Ireland, and a large crowd with them. The following are the nobles who fell there, namely, Cormac, king of the Deise, Dubhagan, king of Fear Maighe, Ceannfaolaidh, king of Ui Conaill, Conn of Adhar, Aineisliis of Ui Toirrdhealbhaigh, Eidhion king of Eidhne, who had been banished to Munster, Maolmuaidh, Madagan, Dubh dha Bhuireann, Conall, Fearadhach, Aodh king of Ui Liathain, and Domhnall king of Dun Cearmna. And those who won the victory over the Munstermen are Flann, son of Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, and Cearbhall, son of Muireigen, king of Leinster, and Tadhg, son of Faolan, king of Ui Cinnsealaigh, and Teimheanain, king of Ui Deaghaidh, Ceallach and Lorcan two kings of the Cineals, and Inneirghe, son of

3285 *ḡCineál aḡur Innéirḡe mac Duibḡiolla nḡ Ó n'Orḡona;  
 Follamḡain mac Oilḡolla nḡ Forḡorta Feaḡa; Tuḡtal mac  
 Uḡaḡirḡe nḡ Ua Muḡreḡaḡaḡ; Oḡran mac Cinnḡerḡoḡ nḡ  
 Laoḡḡre; Maolcallann mac Feaḡḡaḡle nḡ na b'Forḡuaḡ; iḡ  
 Cleirḡcén nḡ Ua m'baḡḡrḡe.*

## XXI.

Táinḡ iḡr nḡ Flann Sionna nḡ Éirḡeann marḡḡluaḡ  
 mḡr nḡoḡḡa vo éur Ḳiarḡmaḡa mac Ceapḡaill i nḡḡe  
 Orḡuḡḡe i nḡiaḡ bḡir a ḡeapḡbrḡḡar Ceallḡaḡ mic Ceap-  
 baill vo bḡ i b'flaḡḡear Orḡuḡḡe nḡmḡe, ḡur éur nḡ ḡaḡ-ro  
 3290 aḡ conḡnam lé Corḡmac, aḡ mbeḡ uḡal vo fá éioḡ vo ḡiol  
 nḡr tḡé beḡ 'n-a nḡḡ Leḡḡe Moḡa ḡó. Iḡ ann nḡ táng-  
 aḡar ḡronḡ i nḡaḡ flḡoinn Sionna nḡoḡ Éirḡeann aḡur  
 ceann Corḡmaḡ mic Cuḡleannḡain aḡa, aḡur iḡ eaḡ aḡubḡaḡar  
 nḡ Flann: "beaḡa iḡ flḡainḡe éur, a nḡ corḡmaḡaḡ éurḡaḡḡ-  
 3295 aḡ, aḡ ro ceann Corḡmaḡ nḡoḡ Muḡan aḡainḡe éur, aḡur  
 aḡaḡ iḡ beaḡ vo na nḡoḡaḡ oile, tḡḡaḡ vo flḡiaḡaḡ aḡur  
 cuḡr an ceann fḡiḡḡe iḡ foirḡḡinḡ é voḡ flḡiaḡaḡ. Óiḡ fá  
 nḡr aḡ na nḡoḡaḡ nḡmaḡ an tan vo marḡḡḡoi nḡ i ḡcaḡ leo  
 a ceann vo buaḡn vo iḡ a éur fá n-a flḡiaḡaḡ vo foirḡḡinḡe."  
 3300 ḡiḡeaḡ nḡ buḡeaḡar tuḡ aḡ an ḡruḡinḡ nḡ aḡ aḡḡbeaḡ an  
 ḡnḡḡma nḡin vo ḡaḡbaḡḡe orḡa ḡo nḡḡḡr, aḡur aḡubḡaḡḡe ḡur  
 ḡruaḡḡe a ceann vo buaḡn voḡ eaḡroḡ naḡḡḡa aḡur vo  
 nḡaḡ naḡ ḡionḡnaḡ fḡin a foirḡḡinḡe; aḡur vo ḡaḡ Flann  
 an ceann 'n-a láim iḡ vo nḡoḡ é ḡo ḡtuḡ 'n-a éimḡeall fá  
 3305 ḡnḡ ceann coirḡeaḡḡa an eaḡruḡ naḡḡḡa.

Aḡur nḡḡaḡ uaiḡ iḡr an ceann ḡo honḡraḡ  
 v'ionḡruḡḡe an cuḡrḡ mar a nḡaḡe Maḡnaḡ mac Siḡḡaḡ  
 coḡḡḡba Coḡḡaḡll, aḡur nḡḡ fḡe coḡr Corḡmaḡ ḡo Oirḡḡe  
 Oiarḡmaḡa ḡur haḡnaiceaḡ ḡo honḡraḡ ann nḡ é.

3310 Cḡa tḡa an coirḡḡe nḡ naḡ tḡuaḡ an ḡnḡḡḡ-ro .i. marḡbaḡ



Duibhghiolla, king of Ui Drona, Follamhain son of Oilill, king of Fothorta Feadha, Tuathal son of Ughaire, king of Ui Muireadhaigh, Odhran son of Cinneide, king of Laoighis, Maolcallann son of Fearghal, king of the Forthuath, and Cleircen, king of Ui Bairrche.

## XXI.

After this Flann Sionna, king of Ireland, came with a large royal host of cavalry to place Diarmaid, son of Cearbhall, on the throne of Osruighe in the room of his brother Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, who reigned in Osruighe before him and who fell in this battle as he was helping Cormac, to whom as king of Leath Mogha he was subject as to the payment to him of tribute. It was then that a party came to Flann Sionna, king of Ireland, bringing with them the head of Cormac, son of Cuileannan, and they said to Flann: "Life and health be thine, O slaughtering powerful king; behold we have the head of Cormac, king of Munster, for thee, and according to the custom of the other kings lift thy thigh and put the head under it and press it beneath thy thigh. For it was the custom of the kings that preceded thee, when they had slain a king in battle to cut off his head and to press it beneath their thighs." But instead of thanking this party he reproached them severely for this deed, and said that it was a pity to behead the holy bishop and added that he would not press it; and Flann took the head in his hand and kissed it, and thrice turned round in full circle with the blessed head of the holy bishop.

And then the head was reverently carried from him to the body, at which was Maonach, son of Siadhal, comhorba of Comhghall, and he took the body of Cormac to Disirt Diarmada, and it was there buried with honour.

What heart but must rue this deed, the slaying and



3315 iṛ ceapcaḁ an tuine naom̃ta vo ba mó eag̃na o'feap̃aib̃  
 éipeann 'n-a cómaim̃p̃iṛ, raoi i nṣaeḁilṣ iṛ i laoiṛin aṣur  
 an t-aip̃oeap̃oṣ láñc̃p̃aib̃ceac̃ ioḁan up̃nuig̃ceac̃ geann-  
 naiḁe viaḁa, ceann foip̃ceac̃aib̃ iṛ fípeag̃na iṛ foib̃ear,  
 aṣur aip̃oip̃i oá c̃uig̃eac̃ Muḁan!

3320 Do c̃ill iom̃oip̃o flann Sionna ñi éipeann aṛ b̃p̃ag̃b̃aib̃  
 Oiaim̃aḁa mic Ceap̃baill i ñiṣe Oip̃uig̃e iṛ aṛ nuéanaḁ  
 r̃ioḁa iṛiṛ é f̃eín iṛ a b̃p̃aib̃. Tillio laig̃in tap̃a n-aip̃  
 map̃ an ṣeáḁna ṣo mbuaib̃ ṣcoṛcaip̃. Táiñis iap̃ rin  
 Ceap̃ball mac Muip̃eig̃eín ñi laig̃ean iom̃e ṣo Cill Oap̃a  
 iṛ oip̃oṣ m̃óip̃i o'feap̃aib̃ Muḁan i láim̃ aig̃e iṛ flait̃bear̃ac̃  
 mac loñm̃aíñeín map̃ aon ñiú. Tug̃aḁ iap̃ rin flait̃bear̃ac̃  
 ṣo Cill Oap̃a, aṣur ṣab̃aio cliaip̃ laig̃ean aṣ tab̃aip̃t  
 ac̃m̃ap̃áin m̃óip̃i oó, óip̃i fá oeap̃b̃ leo ṣup̃ab̃ é ba cioñtaḁ  
 3325 ñiṛ an ṣcaḁ vo c̃up̃i.

3330 aṛ n-eag̃ iom̃oip̃o vo C̃eap̃ball ñi laig̃ean vo léig̃eac̃  
 flait̃bear̃ac̃ amaḁ, aṣur i ṣcionn bliḁḁna vo c̃ionn-  
 laic Muip̃eann bañcóip̃oib̃a b̃p̃uṣe é iṛ vo c̃up̃i r̃luaṣ  
 m̃óip̃i vo c̃léip̃i laig̃ean va cóim̃eac̃o ṣo m̃áiñis ṣo m̃aig̃  
 ñaib̃, aṣur aṛ ioc̃tain na Muḁan aḁlaib̃ rin oó, vo  
 c̃uaib̃ va m̃aiñip̃t̃iṛ f̃eín .i. ṣo h̃liñip̃ Caḁaig̃ iṛ vo c̃aib̃  
 reac̃ va aip̃iṛiṛ ṣo c̃p̃aib̃ceac̃ c̃aoñoú̃t̃iaḁtaḁ iñnte ṣo  
 oḁáiñis amaḁ a h̃liñip̃ Caḁaig̃ aip̃iṛ vo ṣab̃aib̃ ñiṣe Muḁan  
 i ñiaib̃ b̃aib̃ Ouib̃ laḁt̃na mic Maoil̃ṣuaia fá ñi aṛ an  
 3335 Muḁaiñ reac̃t mbliḁḁna o'éip̃ C̃oip̃maic; ṣup̃i c̃aib̃ reac̃  
 bliḁḁan i b̃p̃laiteap̃ Muḁan va éip̃ rin, aḁaib̃ aḁeip̃i reín-  
 leab̃ap̃ anñálaḁ Cluana heiõneac̃ f̃ioñntain i laoiṣip̃ lé  
 ṣcuiṛteap̃ r̃ioṛ an caḁ-ro b̃ealaig̃ muṣna map̃ a léag̃t̃ap̃  
 i laoiḁ reañc̃up̃a vo iuñne Oall̃án oll̃aḁ Ceap̃baill r̃ioṣ  
 3340 laig̃ean map̃ a ṣcuiṛeann éip̃im̃ an c̃aḁa-ro r̃ioṛ ṣo cum̃aip̃i,  
 iṛ map̃ a luaiḁeann na huaiṛle iṛ an lioñ r̃luaṣ vo c̃uit̃

hewing of the holy man, the wisest of the men of Ireland in his time, a man learned in Irish and in Latin, and a most virtuous chaste, pure, prayerful, pious archbishop, leader in teaching in true wisdom and good morals and high king of the two provinces of Munster !

And Flann Sionna, king of Ireland, returned, having left Diarmaid son of Cearbhall on the throne of Osruighe, and having made peace between himself and his kinsmen. The Leinstermen similarly returned in the flush of victory. After this Cearbhall son of Muireigen, king of Leinster, proceeded on his way to Cill Dara bringing with him in charge a large body of Munstermen and with them Flaithbheartach, son of Ionmhainen. Then Flaithbheartach was brought into Cill Dara, and the Leinster clergy fell to reproaching him greatly, for they knew well that it was through his fault the battle was fought.

But on the death of Cearbhall, king of Leinster, Flaithbheartach was set free ; and a year after Muireann banchomhorba of Brighid accompanied him out of the town and sent a large party of Leinster clergy to escort him till he reached Magh nAirbh, and when he had thus arrived in Munster he went into his own monastery to Inis Cathaigh, and there he passed some time in virtue and devotion, and came out of Inis Cathaigh again to assume the sovereignty of Munster after the death of Dubh Lachtna, son of Maolguala, who was king of Munster seven years after Cormac ; and he was for some years after that king of Munster, as is stated in the old book of the Annals of Cluain Eidhneach Fionntain in Laoighis which gives an account of the Battle of Bealach Mughna, as we read in the historic poem which Dallan, the ollamh of Cearbhall, king of Munster, composed in which he gives an abridged summary of this battle, and in which he enumerates the nobles and gives the numbers of the hosts that fell therein. But I shall



ran éad-ro. Siúeas ní cuirfeas von laoiú angho aet an  
céadmann oi, vo bpiḡ sur luaidemari na huairle vo piéir  
a n-anmann nomáinn éuar. As ro an mann:

3315

Cormac Feimean Foḡarac,  
Colmán Ceallac cnuair n-uḡra,  
So pé mile toiréarar  
i ḡcat bealaig muair muḡna.

Da éir rin fuair Flann Sionna pi éireann bár.

3350

Vo ḡab mall ḡlúnuib mac doḡa Finnleir mic Néill  
Cáille mic doḡa Oimvige mic Néill Fparais mic Fear-  
ḡaile mic Maoileóuin mic Maoilḡuēriḡ mic doḡa Uair-  
ioḡnaiḡ vo fiol éireamóin pioḡaet éireann tri bliadna.

3355

Vo haetnuaidéas donac Tailltean leir. Ir é an mall-ro  
vo éuair mari don pé neair ḡaebeal vo éabairt éada vo  
Loélonnaib Loéa vá Čaoč i nulltaib, sur marbaḡ iomao  
vo Loélonnaib ir vo ḡaebealaib ran éat roin. Ir i  
bflaitéar Néill iomoiro tugao Cat Cinn Fuair ar Laignib  
lé hioimari taoiread Loélonnac, áit ar éuit pé céao vo  
Laignib ann um Maoimóiróa mac Muirpeigéin pi lartair  
liḡre, um úḡaire mac Oiliollla, um Muḡrón mac Cinnéiró  
pi na vtri ḡComann ir Laoigre, aḡur iomao vo úaoimib  
uairle oile nac áirimḡtear angho.

3365

Ir fan am-ro vo éuair Oitir taoiread vo Loélonnaib  
ḡo rluag lionmari mari don pui ó Loé vá Čaoč ḡo halbain  
aḡur tug Cair mac doḡa cat vóib, sur éuit Oitir ir iomao  
vo Loélonnaib ann. Ir i bflaitéar Néill ḡlúnuib  
táinig loingear móri vo Loélonnaib i néiminn mari don pé  
Sicric ir pé cloinn íomari sur ḡabrar baile áta Cliaet

3370

v'áimbeoin fear néireann.

Tionólair mall ḡlúnuib pi éireann móirfluag leiré  
Cuinn ḡo vruḡ cat vo Loélonnaib aḡ áe Cliaet, áit ar



set down here only the first stanza of the poem, since I have mentioned the nobles by name above. Here is the stanza :

Cormac, of Feimhean, Foghartach,  
Colman, Ceallach of hard combats,  
With six thousand, fell  
In the Battle of proud Bealach Mughna.

After this Flann Sionna, king of Ireland, died.

Niall Glundubh, son of Aodh Finnleith, son of Niall Caille, son of Aodh Oirndighe, son of Niall Frasach, son of Fearghal, son of Maolduin, son of Maoilfrithrigh, son of Aodh Uairiodhnach of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland three years. He renewed the fair of Taillte. It was this Niall who went with a force of Gaels to give battle to the Lochlonnaigh of Loch da Chaoch in Ulster, and many Lochlonnaigh and Gaels were slain in that battle. It was also in the reign of Niall that the Battle of Ceann Fuaid was won over the Leinstermen by Iomhar, a Lochlonnach chief, wherein fell six hundred Leinstermen under Maolmordha, son of Muireigen, king of Iarthar Lithfe, under Ughaire son of Oilill, under Mughron son of Cinneide, king of the Three Comanns and of Laoighis, and under many other nobles not mentioned here.

It was about this time that Oitir, a Lochlonnach chief, with a numerous host went from Loch da Chaoch to Alba, and Caus, son of Aodh, gave them battle, wherein Oitir and many Lochlonnaigh fell. If was in the reign of Niall Glundubh that a great fleet of Lochlonnaigh came to Ireland together with Sitric and the children of Iomhar, and they seized on the town of Ath Cliath in spite of the men of Ireland.

Niall Glundubh, king of Ireland, assembled the main host of Leath Cuinn and gave battle to the Lochlonnaigh at Ath Cliath, wherein he himself was slain together with

marbhad é féin iṛ Concubair mac Maoilṛeadláinn míoṡ-  
 ṁaṁna Éireann, iṛ doṁ mac Eoḁaḁáin ní Ulaḁ iṛ Maoilmitiṁ  
 3375 mac Flannagáin ní bṛeaḁ, Maoilṛaḁaibe ó Duibḁionnaiḁ  
 ní Oirḁiall, iṛ iomaṁ vo ḁaḁṛeaḁaib iṛ vo ṁaḁmib oile ó  
 ḁin amaḁ.

Vo ḁaḁ Donnḁaḁ mac Floinn ṽSionna mac Maoilṛeaḁ-  
 láinn mic Maoilṛuanuio mic Donnḁaḁa mic Domnaill mic  
 3380 Muṛḁaḁa mic Diaṛmaḁa mic Aiṛmeaḁaig Ḃaḁiḁ mic Conaill  
 ḁuibḁinn mic Suibḁne Meinn vo ḁiol Éireaḁóin míoḁaḁṽ  
 Éireann ḁiḁe bliḁḁan. ḁormḁlaṽ inḁean Floinn mic  
 Conaig mḁṽaiṛ an Donnḁaḁa-ro aḁuṛ Saḁb inḁean  
 Donnḁaḁa mic Ceallaiḁ míoḁ Orruiḁe ḁá bean vo. aḁuṛ  
 3385 vo ḁéiṛ leaḁaiṛ aṛo Maḁa vo éuaio an Donnḁaḁ-ro mac  
 Floinn ní Éireann ḁo bṛuiṛinn móiṛ leiṛ vo véanaḁ mḁiṛ  
 nó éloiṁ timḁeall Saiḁṛe Ḃiaṛáin, aṛ ḁoṛáileam a mḁá  
 .i. Saḁb inḁean Donnḁaḁa mic Ceallaiḁ: óiṛ ḁá ṽnṽḁaḁ lé  
 mḁiṛ nó éloiṁ timḁeall ḁaḁa haiṛoḁille i nÉiṛinn aḁuṛ a  
 3390 cill féin .i. Saiḁiṛ ḁan mḁiṛ; óiṛ iṛ i Saiḁiṛ Ḃiaṛáin vo  
 bioḁ aḁnaḁal míoḁṛuiḁe Orruiḁe an ionḁaio ḁin. ṽan-  
 ḁaḁaṛ uime ḁin ḁiṛ Mḁiḁe ḁo ṽulaig nDonnḁaḁa láim ḁé  
 Saiḁiṛ aḁoiṛ iṛ vo ḁaḁaḁaṛ aḁ véanaḁ an éloiṁ ḁaḁ laoi  
 timḁeall na cille; ḁonaḁ ann ḁin ḁáimig coṛṛ Donnḁaḁa  
 3395 mic Ceallaiḁ .i. ní Orruiḁe va aḁnaḁal ḁo Saiḁiṛ, aḁuṛ i  
 nṽiaio a aḁnaicṽe, iaṛ ṽtiḁeaḁṽ ṽoṛḁaḁaiṛ na hoioḁe,  
 ṽanḁaḁaṛ naonḁaṛ vo éṛoṛánaib ciaḁaḁa éioṛoḁa aṛ an  
 uaiḁ ḁuṛ ḁaḁaḁaṛ aḁ cliaṛaiḁeaḁṽ, aḁail iṛ béaṛ vo  
 éṛoṛánaib ó ḁoin anaill; aḁuṛ ḁá ḁile a ṛiḁle iṛ a bṛiaḁla  
 3400 ioná ṛneaḁṽa, iṛ ḁá ṽuibe ioná ḁual ḁaḁann ḁaḁ ball  
 oile ṽioḁ.

iṛ aḁlaio iomaṛṛo ṽanḁaḁaṛ iṛ ṽuaṛn leo vo ṛiḁ  
 Orruiḁe; iṛ ḁaḁ ṽuine aṽéioḁ iḁo vo-nioḁ ḁalaṛ laoi ḁo  
 n-oioḁe ṽóib. aḁ ṛo an ṽuaṛn:



Conchubhar, son of Maoilseachlainn, royal heir to the sovereignty of Ireland, and Aodh, son of Eochagan, king of Ulster, and Maoilmithidh, son of Flannagan, king of Breagha, Maolcraoibhe O Duibhshionnaigh, king of Oirghiall, and many other leaders and men as well.

Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, son of Maoilseachlainn, son of Maolruanuidh, son of Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, son of Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Airmeadhach Caoch, son of Conall Guithbhinn, son of Suibhne Meann of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty years. Gormfhlaith, daughter of Flann, son of Conaing, was the mother of this Donnchadh, and his wife was Sadhbh, daughter of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, king of Osruighe. And according to the book of Ard Macha this Donnchadh, son of Flann, king of Ireland, went with a large party to build a wall or fence round Saighir Chiarain by the direction of his wife, namely, Sadhbh, daughter of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach ; for she felt envious at there being a wall or fence round every principal church in Ireland, while her own church, that is Saighir, was without a wall ; for the burying place of the kings of Osruighe was at Saighir Chiarain at that time. Accordingly the men of Meath came to Donnchadh's mound beside Saighir to the west, and they set themselves to build the fence round the church day by day ; and at this time the body of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, king of Osruighe, was brought to Saighir to be buried ; and after it was buried, when the darkness of night had set in, nine hairy jet-black crosans came upon the grave and set to choir-chanting as crosans are wont to do ever since, and their eyes and their teeth were whiter than snow, and all their other limbs blacker than blacksmith's coal.

They had come, it seems, bringing with them a lay for the king of Osruighe. And all who saw them grew sick a day and a night at the sight. Here is the lay :



- 3405 Muinntear Õonnáda mhóir mic Ceallaigh  
Coinnheada uadair,  
Cliaira binne bío ag glaothaigh  
Sinné ar rluaḡaib;  
Sluaigh ag miolrao muiḡe lána,  
3410 Tighe óla,  
Óghná fionna, flata fiala,  
Maite móra;  
ḡáir a élaí 1ḡ a éiteairn,  
Coinnheada veaḡfluaigh,  
3415 Spreaḡa rirḡe 1ḡr an ráimḡrén,  
Cricḡe cneamhuail;  
Cnota cuirleanna ḡo ḡcuiboe  
Filibé faible,  
La ván noaḡ-ḡḡlan cigóir ḡo riḡ  
3420 Raḡḡar Raighne.  
Uoo uor uoo ván a mhic riḡḡ Raighne  
ḡo raḡaib,  
Caibé na cuirḡ caibé an mhuirḡ  
Uo bí ḡoo aḡair?  
3425 Rongada ḡreim uon fíor  
Ro oirḡoiríoo uile,  
Álainn an riḡḡ for a raibé  
For biḡ mbuibé;  
Baptair báptain for a anmaín  
3430 Uair ro cluinntear  
Móir a luad iar nool ran alltar  
Sinné a muinntear.

Uo cleaḡḡaḡ iomḡrḡo leir an ḡcléirí rin ó érónaḡ na  
hoibé ḡo maiuin beir ag cliairaibéaḡ leir an uuaín rin  
3435 ar uaiḡ Õonnáda ḡaḡ n-oibé, ḡuir fár tḡío rin ceirḡ  
ar éléirib 1ḡ ar laoaib, óir ba hionḡnaḡ leo veamḡna  
ḡo folliur 1 ḡcoimḡeaḡḡ éuirḡ an riḡḡ lánéiráibéirí rin.  
Fá cuir iomḡrḡo uo éirábaḡ an riḡḡ rin faoiríuin mhúic 1ḡ  
ḡlaḡaḡ éuirḡ Cricḡe 1ḡ uirnaighḡe úúéiráḡaḡ. Fá cuir for  
3440 uo éaonúéiráḡ cḡábaib biaḡ 1ḡ lón uo éuir uo éabairḡ  
uo hoḡḡaib Ué 1 n-uileféilḡib na n-arḡḡal 1 ḡḡaḡ uile  
airḡéill 1 nOḡruighé. Uo éuiréaḡ for uilleaḡḡa nó uuirne  
boḡḡ ar alḡrḡom ar ron Ué 1 ḡḡaḡ teaḡ muinntiré 1

The people of Donnchadha Mor son of Ceallach,  
A proud quarterage,  
Melodious bands who are calling out  
Are we when on a hosting :

Hosts hunting, full plains,  
Houses for drinking,  
Fair young women, hospitable princes,  
Great nobles ;

The shout of his companies and his troops,  
The quarterage of a good host ;  
Ranks of skirmishers in the summer sun,  
Drinking cups, feast-shouts ;

Harps and pipes in harmony,  
Filés of Faibhle  
With a fair new poem they used to come  
To the gracious king of Raighne ;

Dod dor dod dan, O son of the king of Raighne,  
With prosperity,  
Where are the goblets where the friendship  
That thy father had ?

May a pang seized us for the man  
Whom all chanted for,  
Excellent the course on which he was  
In the fair world ;

Baptais baptain on his soul  
Since it is heard,  
Great his reward after going to the other world,  
We are his people.

Now this band used to keep chanting this lay from nightfall till morning every night over the grave of Donnchadh, so that a doubt arose in the minds of clergy and laity, for they were surprised that demons should be openly attending the body of that most virtuous king. Indeed among the pious practices of the king were frequent confession and the receiving of the Body of Christ and fervent prayers ; and among his exercises of holy zeal was to send food and provisions to be given to God's poor in each principal church in Osruighe on each of the apostles' feasts. Moreover, he used to place an orphan or a poor man to be maintained for God's sake in every

nOrruige timceall, agus fós trí péillce nó trí mála  
 3145 leatáir i ngeac teac, mar atá mála i n-a gcuiread gac  
 don von muinntir veacmáir an bíó do hicti leir, agus  
 mála iona gcuiread gac don a mír micíl, agus an tpeaf  
 mála iona gcuirtear cuirteín cime do bíó ar ioncáib  
 mna an tige lé mar na mboct gur ná poicead poinn don  
 3150 veacmáir ná don mír micíl.

Dála na gcléireac do-níó tpeigeanar i r uinaigte fead  
 trí lá go bpoillrigti dóib ciod fár leanrao na veamna  
 corp an míos; go dtáinig aingeal Dé i bfeir go céile Dé  
 do éinéal fíadac mic Néill do bí ran comóid rin. “I r  
 3155 maic,” ar an t-aingeal, “do minneabair an tpoicad poim  
 do véanam. Naonbair iomorro do éleir Ó gCoingeoir  
 iao rúo, agus i r é ro an tpeaf feacac tángadair i néirinn  
 a hipeann agus ó nar féadadair áiac t’fagáil ar an  
 míg úo n-a beacáir, atáir iao n-a éas ag véanam buair-  
 3160 earca ór cionn a cuip; agus véantair aipeann i r  
 uirce coirreacac amáiac lib-re,” ar an t-aingeal, “agus  
 cpoirtear ar an uair agur ar an poirig uile é, agus im-  
 teocáir na veamna uile.”

Do míonad rin agus tángadair clair Ó gCoingeoir i  
 3165 meacáir éan gcoirouf ran aeoir ór a gcionn, agus  
 níoir lámrao luige ar úir na peilge ón gcoirreacac  
 do minnead uipre. Agus duibradair nar bfoirail an  
 tpoicad i r an coirreacac do míonrao an élair ar an  
 uair “óir do beimír-ne i noiair an cuip ran raogal  
 3170 ó nac fuil cuimacac agairn ar a anam ar neam.” Agus  
 leir rin do imtíg riao a hamarc cáic i r ní facadair ó  
 roin i lé iao. I r fán am roin do bí an epóran Fionn  
 Ó Cionga i r Mac Rionntac O Conoirain ann, agus i r iao  
 do meabruig an tuain meamráirte ó éleir Ó gCoingeoir  
 3175 mé linn beir ag clairairteac ar uair Donnacac mic  
 Ceallair míos Orruige dóib, i r do leanadair an uair  
 meamráirte don epórantac mar ealaóain go bár.



household throughout Osruighe, and had besides three purses or three leather bags, to wit, a bag in which each person of the household put a tithe of the food he ate, and a bag in which each put his Michael's portion, and a third bag in which a portion of beeswax was put, which was at the disposal of the housewife to dispense to the poor who had got no share of the tithes or of the Michael's portion.

As to the clerics, they fasted and prayed for three days that it might be made known to them why the demons attended the king's body; and an angel of God appeared in a vision to a servant of God of the race of Fiachaidh son of Niall, who was in that assembly. "Ye have done well in keeping that fast," said the angel, "now these are nine of the company of Ui Coingheoidh, and this is the third time they have come to Ireland from hell; and since they could not find an occasion against this king during his life, they are causing a disturbance over his body after his death; and do ye have Mass said and water blessed to-morrow," continued the angel, "and let it be sprinkled on the grave and throughout all the churchyard, and all the demons will go away."

This was done and the company of Ui Coingheoidh appeared in the air above, in the form of jet black birds, and they did not venture to light on the churchyard ground because of its having been blessed; and they said that the fasting and the blessing of the grave by the clergy were necessary, "for we would be after his body on earth since we have not power over his soul in heaven." And thereupon they went out of sight of all and they did not see them ever since. It was about this time that the crosan Fionn O Cionga and Mac Rionntach O Connorain lived, and it was they who learned by rote the above mentioned lay from the company of Ui Coinghaoidh while they were chanting it above the grave of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, king of Osruighe, and the two referred to practised crosantacht as an art until death.

## XXII.

1r i bflaitear Donnada mic Floinn tSionna m  
 Éipeann do rinnead na gnioma-ro rior. Óir 1r i rograd  
 3480 a flaitir do gab Ceallacán mac Duadacán mé ráid-  
 tear Ceallacán Cairil ceannar dá cóigead Mumán ar  
 reab deic mbliadan. Féad mar táinig Cinnéire mac  
 Lorcáin go Gleannamain i gcomúil uairle Mumán  
 rui do rioḡad Ceallacán agus do meaf Cinnéire teadt  
 3495 ioir Ceallacán 1r rioḡadt Mumán. Siḡead táinig mátar  
 Ceallacán a Cairéal, óir 1r ann do comnuig rí i bfoḡair  
 a hoireada comorba páirais, agus ar vteadt ran gcom-  
 úil oi aubairt mé Cinnéire cuimniugad ar an dáil do  
 bí ioir fíadad Muilleatan 1r Cormac Car fá oigheadt  
 3500 Mumán do beit fá reab ioir an dá fliocht tiocad uada  
 leat ar leat; gonaḡ da fairnéir rin adá an rann-ro ar  
 briaḡair na mná:

3495  
 Cuimniḡ a Cinnéire éair,  
 Dáil fíadad 1r Cormac Cair.  
 Sur fágrao Mumáin do roinn  
 go ceart ioir a gcomúiloinn.

Agus táinig o'aitear na mná gur léig Cinnéire  
 flaitear Mumán do Ceallacán.

Da éir rin do gabadar Loclannais Ceallacán i geisḡ.  
 3500 Gur beandor ríol nEogain 1r Dál gCair amad da n-aith-  
 ḡein é. Iar mbriead iomorpo iomao cat do Ceallacán  
 1r o'uairlib Muimhead ar Loclonnab, agus iar n-a  
 n-ionnarbad ar an Mumáin, 1r i comairle ar ar éinn  
 Siḡic mac Tuirḡeir fá harotaoiread oira cleamnar do  
 3505 luad mé Ceallacán, mar adá a fíúr féin béibionn ingean  
 Tuirḡeir do tabairt mar baincéile oó, agus raoirre dá  
 cúigead Mumán do beit aige ó Loclonnab gan agra gan

## XXII.

It was in the reign of Donnchadh son of Flann Sionna, king of Ireland, that the following events took place. For it was in the beginning of his reign that Ceallachan, son of Buadhachan, who is called Ceallachan of Cashel held the sovereignty of the two provinces of Munster ten years. Now Cinneide, son of Lorcan, came to Gleannamhain to an assembly of the nobles of Munster before Ceallachan was inaugurated, and Cinneide sought to come between Ceallachan and the sovereignty of Munster. But Ceallachan's mother came from Cashel, for it was there she dwelt with her tutor, Patrick's comhorba, and coming into the assembly she asked Cinneide to remember the agreement come to between Fiachaidh Muilleathan and Cormac Cas that the descendants of both should alternately inherit Munster, and this is expressed by this stanza on the woman's words :

Remember, O pleasant Cinneide,  
The agreement of Fiachaidh and Cormac Cas!  
How they left Munster to be shared  
Justly among their fair offspring.

And as a result of the woman's discourse Cinneide left the sovereignty of Munster to Ceallachan.

After this the Lochlonnaigh seized on Ceallachan by treachery, and the siol Eoghain and the Dal gCas rescued him in spite of them. But when Ceallachan and the Munster nobles had defeated the Lochlonnaigh in many battles and had driven them out of Munster, Sitric, son of Turgesius, who was their leader, hit upon the plan of arranging a match with Ceallachan, to wit, to give him his own sister Beibhionn, daughter of Turgesius, to wife, and to allow him to possess free the two provinces of Munster, without retribution or claim respecting them on



éilíugadh 'n-a diaid ari, ionnup an tan do macaó Ceallaacán  
 a ioncdaib féin do póraó a feachtas go muirbhíde é  
 3510 féin ir an méio v'uairlib Muimneac do biaó marí don  
 nup; agus do léig cogar na ceilge rin le Donncaó mac  
 Floinn ní Teamrac ari mbeit i bfaltanar pé Ceallaacán  
 do tré gan cior Muhan do díol nup, agus uime rin don-  
 tuigir do Sítric an cealg v'imirt ari Ceallaacán ir ari  
 3515 uairlib Muimneac. Leir rin cuipir Sítric teacta do luaó  
 an cleamhara pé Ceallaacán agus ari poctain do na teact-  
 aib do ládair Ceallaacán ir eaó do éogair mórfluas do  
 éabhairt leir do póraó na mná. "Ni hamlaio ir cóir," ari  
 Cinnéioe mac Lorcáin, "óir ní oleagair an Muha  
 3520 v'fágbáil gan éogair; agus ir eaó ir inéanta éuit  
 neart rluas v'fágbáil as coiméao na Muhan agus  
 éitíre ríio mac tigeapna do bheit leat do póraó na  
 mná."

Agus ir i rin comairle ari ari cinneao leo; agus ari  
 3525 otmall ran tuipar roin do Ceallaacán an oíche pul  
 ráinig go háit Cliaé, riarruigir Mór, ingean Aoda mic  
 Eadac ingean ríog Inre Fionngall do ba bean do Sítric,  
 éreao pá raibe as véanam cleamhara pé Ceallaacán i  
 noiaio ari éuit v'uairlib Loélonnac leir? "Ni ari a leir  
 3530 luaitéar an cleamhar liom," ari pé, "aé ari ti ceilge  
 v'imirt ari."

Beaógair an bean leir na bmaépaib rin, ari mbeit éi  
 i ngráó folaišteac pé Ceallaacán pé cian v'aimpíu ríome  
 rin, ón tráé do éonairic i bPopt Lairge é, agus do-ni  
 3535 moicéirge ari maíoin ari n-a márac ir téio ór íreal ari an  
 raon 'n-ari faoil Ceallaacán do beit as teact; agus marí  
 ráinig Ceallaacán do ládair beipir ríre i bpoó pá leit é  
 agus nóctair do an cealg do bí ari n-a hollmugaó as  
 Sítric 'n-a éomair pé a maibao; agus marí do méar  
 3540 Ceallaacán tilleao ní raibe pé ari cumar do óir do bádar  
 na maige ari gaé leit don ríó lán do ríopair Loélonnac  
 i n-oiréill ari a gabáil. Marí do éogair tilleao tar a

the part of the Lochlonnaigh ; in order that when Ceallachan should go under his own protection to marry his sister, himself and all the Munster nobles who were with him might be slain ; and he communicated the secret of this plot to Donnchadh, son of Flann, king of Tara, who was at enmity with Ceallachan through his not having paid him the rent for Munster, and hence he consented to Sitric's carrying out his treacherous design on Ceallachan and the Munster nobles. Thereupon Sitric sent envoys to Ceallachan to give tidings of the match, and when they came into his presence, what he proposed to do was to take a large host with him when going to marry the lady. " That is not right," said Cinneide, son of Lorcan, for it is not right to leave Munster without defence ; and what thou shouldst do is to leave a force to hold Munster and to take four score lords' sons with thee on going to marry the lady."

And this was the counsel they adopted. And as Ceallachan was going on this journey; the night before he arrived in Ath Cliath, Mor, daughter of Aodh, son of Eochaidh, daughter of the king of Inis Fionnghall, wife of Sitric, asked why he was making a match with Ceallachan, seeing he had slain so many Lochlonnach nobles. " It is not for his good this match is arranged by me," he answered, " but with a view to practising treachery against him."

At these words the lady started, as she had been long secretly in love with Ceallachan from the time she saw him at Port Lairge ; and she rose early the next morning and went secretly along the path on which she thought Ceallachan was coming ; and when he came up to her she took him aside and informed him of the plot which Sitric was hatching against him in order to kill him ; and when Ceallachan thought of returning he was unable to do so, as the fields on either side of the road were full of companies of Lochlonnaigh ambushed for the purpose of capturing him. As he made an effort to return they sprang



air luigítear leo-ran na gac leir air agus marbtear orong  
 vo na huairlib vo bí 'n-a fochar, ir marbtear leo-ran mar  
 3545 an gcéanna luét vo na loclonnaib. Siúeas lingio an-  
 triom an trluais ar Ceallaacán sur gabaó é féin ir Donn  
 Cuan mac Cinnéirí ann, ir iugasó go háit Cliaé ar láim  
 ias, ir ar rin go háro Maéa mar a maðarar naoi  
 n-iarla vo loclonnaib go n-a mbuóin na gcoiméas.

3550 Dála na ruinge vo éuas ar ón gcoimblíocht roin  
 o'uarlib Muinneas, triallair von Mumain ir noctair a  
 rcéala vo Cinnéirí agus leir rin ollmuisítear dá fluas  
 lé Cinnéirí vo tóirídeas Ceallaacán, mar atá fluas vo  
 tír ir fluas vo múir; agus vo punne taoireas ar an  
 3555 fluas vo bí vo tír vo Donncaó mac Caoimh ní an dá fear-  
 mais, agus vo gab Cinnéirí as cup meirnis ann as  
 maorídeas air go maðarar doimhí véas na fionngaisib i  
 bflaítear Mumain, mar atá Airtre, Catál mac Fionngaine,  
 Fionngaine mac Catál, Cú gan Máear, Catál mé ráití  
 3560 Ceann Géagán, Doó, Flann Catrác, Cairbrie, Cuiomtann,  
 Eócar, ir Dongur mac Nattraoié. Vo cup Cinnéirí fór  
 veiré gcéas vo Dál gCair leir ir triúr taoireas ór a  
 gcionn, mar atá Corcraé Longargán ir Congalaé, amail  
 aoir an laoió: Éirgeas ríce céas buó éuas.

3565 As ro an pann ar an laoió céanna as aitérmoat  
 bmaíar Cinnéirí:

Éirgeas ann Corcraé na gcat,  
 agus Longargán lagad,  
 Éirgeas Congalaé ón linn,  
 mo trí veapbáitíre aoirim.

3570

Vo cup Cinnéirí fór cúis céas oile vo Dál gCair lé  
 Síoda mac Síoda ó clonn Cóléin ann, agus cúis céas  
 oile vo Dál gCair lé Deagair mac Domnaill i n-éasmar  
 a veasair vo fluas ó faorclannaib oile Mumain ann.  
 3575 Vo cup an vana mórfluas vo múir ann agus Failbe  
 Fionn ní Dearmáin 'n-a taoireas orra.

Dála na fluas vo tír, triallair ar an Mumain i



upon him from all sides, and a body of nobles who were with him were slain, and these in their turn slew a number of the Lochlonnaigh. But the bulk of the host bore down on Ceallachan and there captured himself and Donn Cuan, son of Cinneide, and they were taken to Ath Cliath as prisoners, and thence to Ard Macha, where nine Lochlonnach earls with their detachments detained them.

As to the company of Munster nobles who escaped from this conflict, they proceeded to Munster and told the news to Cinneide, who thereupon got ready two hosts to go in quest of Ceallachan, that is, a land force and a sea force, and he made Donnchadh, son of Caomh, king of the two Fearmaighes, leader of the land force, and Cinneide proceeded to encourage him, telling him that eleven of his ancestors were kings of Munster, to wit, Airtre, Cathal son of Fionghaine, Fionghaine son of Cathal, Cu gan Mhathair, Cathal who was called Ceann Geagain, Aodh, Flann Cathrach, Cairbre, Criomhthann, Eochaidh, and Aonghus son of Natfraoch. Besides, Cinneide sent ten hundred of the Dal gCais along with him with three leaders over them, to wit, Coscrach, Longargan and Conghalach, as says the poem: Let twenty hundred go northwards.

Here is the stanza of this poem which quotes the words of Cinneide:

Let Coscrach, of the battles, go there,  
And Longargan, the lovable,  
Let Conghalach, from the lake, go;  
I mean my three brothers.

Moreover, Cinneide sent thither five hundred more of the Dal gCais with Sioda, son of Sioda of the clann Cuilein, and five hundred more of the Dal gCais with Deaghaidh, son of Domhnall, besides the fighting men that went thither from the other free-born tribes of Munster. The second great force he sent by sea with Failbhe Fionn, king of Desmond, as their leader.

As to the land-force they proceeded from Munster to

3580 gConnaḋtaib̃ iŕ vo léigeaḋaŕ iŕceimiolta go muaid̃ iŕ go  
 hloppur iŕ go humall̃ vo tionól̃ cŕeaḋ go forlongŕoŕt  
 Muimneac̃; aŕur ní cian vo báḋaŕ an forlongŕoŕt aŕ  
 fuircaḋ iŕ na iŕceimealtaib̃ an tan atconncaraŕ fluaŕ  
 veigeaŕaŕ aŕ teaḋt va n-ionnŕaiŕe, aŕur fá hé a lion  
 veic̃ ŕcáaḋ aŕur aonóŕlaaḋ 'n-a iŕeaim̃toŕaḋ; aŕur maŕ  
 iáin̕is vo láḋaŕi ŕiaŕŕuiŕiŕ Donncaḋ mac Caoim̃ cia hiaḋ  
 3585 an tŕfluaŕŕuib̃eaḋaŕ ŕoin. "Ŭŕeam vo Muimneac̃aib̃ iaḋ,"  
 aŕ ŕé, "maŕ atáio ŕaileanga iŕ luiŕne vo cloinñ Taid̃ŕ  
 mic Céin mic Oiliolla Óluim̃ aŕur ŕiŕ Ŭealbna vo ŕlioḋt  
 Ŭealbaoit̃ mic Cair̃ mic Conaill̃ Eaḋluait̃ atá aŕ tabaiŕt  
 neit̃ a lám̃ lib̃-ŕe tŕé commbáiõ hŕáit̃ŕeaŕa iŕe cur̃ i  
 3590 n-aŕaiõ Ŭanaŕ aŕur iŕe buaiñ Céallaḋáiñ ŕioŕ Muim̃an  
 ṽioḋ. Aŕur atáio tŕi t̃aoiŕiŕiŕ aŕŕmaŕa i ŕceannaŕ an  
 tŕfluaŕiŕ-ŕe, maŕ atá aḋo mac Ŭualŕuŕa iŕ ŕaileanga uile  
 uime, Ŭiaŕmaio mac ŕionnaḋta iŕ luiŕniŕ uime, iŕ Donncaḋ  
 mac Maolŕoim̃naŕiŕ óŕ ŕeaŕaib̃ Ŭealbna an̕; aŕur iŕ va  
 3595 Ŭeaŕb̃aḋ ŕiñ atá an laoĩ ŕeanc̃uŕa vaŕiab̃ toŕaḋ an  
 céaŕŕanñ-ŕo:

atŕuil̃t ŕonñ clanna Céin,  
 aŕur Ŭealbaoit̃ aŕ aoin̕éim̃,  
 aŕ toigeaḋt̃ iŕ an fluaŕaḋ,  
 iŕ buḋ lib̃-ŕe a n-ionmmbuaḋaḋ.

3600

Aŕur iŕ am̃laiõ vo báḋaŕ an fluaŕ-ŕo .i. cúis̃ céaḋ ṽioḋ  
 'n-a luḋt̃ ŕciaḋ iŕ cloiḋeaḋ aŕur cúis̃ céaḋ 'n-a ŕaiŕ-  
 veoiŕub̃. Tŕiallaiõ aŕ ŕiñ i ṽŕiŕ Conaill̃ an fluaŕ  
 Muimneac̃ aŕur an fuircaḋaḋ ŕoiñ táin̕is vo conŕnaḋ leo  
 3605 maŕ aon, aŕur cŕeaḋtaŕi an tŕi leo. Tis̃ Muir̃c̃eaŕtaḋ  
 mac an aŕnaḋlaiõ ṽiaŕŕiaiõ aŕiŕis na ŕcŕeaḋ go háŕeaḋ  
 aŕ Ŭonncaḋ mac Caoim̃; aŕur aḋubaiŕt̃ Donncaḋ naḋ  
 tiub̃raḋ aḋt ŕuiŕeall̃ ŕáŕuiŕŕe na fluaŕ ṽo ŕoñ cŕeic̃.  
 leir̃ ŕiñ tŕéiŕiŕ Muir̃c̃eaŕtaḋ an fluaŕ aŕur cuiŕiŕ teaḋta  
 3610 óŕ iŕeaḋ go cloinñ Tuir̕ŕéiŕ i naŕo Maḋa 'ŕá ŕaiŕnéiŕ



Connaught; and they sent skirmishers to Muaidh and to Iorrus and to Umhall to bring cattle preys to the Munster camp, and the camp were not long waiting for the return of the skirmishers when they saw a host in good array approach them, and their numbers was ten hundred, and a single youthful warrior at their head; and when they came up, Donnchadh, son of Caomh, asked what force was that. "A body of Munstermen," he replied, "to wit, the Gaileanga and the Luighne of the race of Tadhg son of Cian, son of Oilill Olom, and the men of Dealbhna, of the race of Dealbhaoth, son of Cas, son of Conall Eachluaith, who are giving you a helping hand through brotherly sympathy in opposing the foreigners and in rescuing Ceallachan from them. And there are three valiant leaders at the head of this force, to wit, Aodh, son of Dualghus, having all the Gaileanga under him, Diarmaid, son of Fionnachta, having the Luighneigh under him, and Donnchadh, son of Maoldomhnaigh, at the head of the men of Dealbhna; and as a testimony of this is the historical poem which begins with this stanza:

The clanna Cein are there,  
And the Dealbhaoith all together  
Coming to the hosting,  
And they will fight on your side.

Now this host was thus constituted. Five hundred of them had swords and shields, and five hundred were archers. The Munster host and this force who had come to help them proceeded thence to Tir Chonaill and they spoiled the country. Muircheartach, son of Arnaladh, came to Donnchadh son of Caomh, and asked him to restore the cattle preys with good will; and Donnchadh replied that he would only give him what remained of the preys after the hosts had been satisfied. Upon this Muircheartach left the host and sent envoys secretly to the sons of Turgesius to Ard Macha informing them that the



uóib an fhuas Muimneac vo beic as córaíveacét Ceall-  
acáin ar tí a buana amac.

Dála éloinne Tuigéir triallair a hArto Maca naon-  
bar iarla go n-a fhuas Loélonnac, ir Ceallacán ir  
3615 Donn Cuan i mbroio leo. Iomtúra fhuas Muimán triall-  
air go hArto Maca ir marbair a uarpla va gcóir vo  
Loélonnair asur ar a élor ar n-a márac uóib Sítruc go  
n-a fhuas vo uul pé Ceallacán go Dún Dealgan triallair  
'n-a uópaíveacét, asur mar vo mótuig Sítruc iao as  
3620 teacét i ngar von baile, téio péin ir a fhuas 'n-a longair  
ir Ceallacán ir Donn Cuan leo, asur tis an fhuas  
Muimneac ar imeall na triaga ar a gcomair, asur iao as  
asallma Loélonnac. Asur leir rin acéio cablac móir as  
tigacét ran éuan éuca, asur tugavar Muimniú aítne  
3625 supab é failbe fionn go n-a cablac vo bí ann.

Triallair failbe go n-a cablac go péimóipeac i nuáil  
na Loélonnac asur tug uét ar an luing i n-a paibe Sítruc  
ir Tori ir Mañnur, asur lingir ar boio luinge Sítreaca  
irteac asur vá éloíveam 'n-a vá láim; asur gabair as  
3630 gearraú na uéao lé paibe Ceallacán ceangailte von  
treolémann, leir an gclóíveam vo bí 'n-a láim éli, sup  
raoíl vo Ceallacán ir sup léis ar éláirib na luinge  
anuar é; asur leir rin tug clóíveam na láime cli vo  
Ceallacán. Téio Ceallacán a luing Sítreaca i luing  
3635 failbe asur anair failbe as coméuarigain Loélonnac  
sup marbaú trié anpórlann Loélonnac é, ir sup beanavar  
a éeann ve. Tis fiangal taoipeac va muinntir 'n-a áit  
ran comblíoét roin, ir beirir go hearaontac ar brollac  
ar Sítruc, ir teilgir iao ar don tar boio na luinge amac,  
3640 go noeacavar go grian, sup bátaú amlaró rin iao.

Tis Séagóa ir Conall vá taoipeac oile ir beirir ar  
vá brácair Sítreaca, .i. Tori ir Mañnur ir beirir tar  
boio na luinge amac iao, sup bátaú amlaró rin iao a

Munster host were in quest of Ceallachan and intended to rescue him.

As to the sons of Turgesius, they set out from Ard Macha, nine earls with their host of Lochlonnaigh, and Ceallachan and Donn Cuan with them as prisoners. And the Munster host proceeded to Ard Macha and slew all that came in their way of the Lochlonnaigh, and when on the next day they heard that Sitric and his host had gone to Dun Dealgan with Ceallachan they set out in pursuit of them, and when Sitric observed them coming near the town he himself and his host betook themselves to their ships, having Ceallachan and Donn Cuan with them, and the Munster host came on the verge of the strand in front of them and held a parley with the Lochlonnaigh. And thereupon they saw a large fleet approach them in the harbour, and the Munstermen knew that it was Failbhe Fionn and his fleet that were there.

Failbhe and his fleet proceeded by direct route to meet the Lochlonnaigh, and he made an attack on the ships in which were Sitric and Tor and Magnus, and he boarded Sitric's ship, having a sword in either hand, and set to cutting the ropes that bound Ceallachan to the mast, with the sword that was in his left hand, and set Ceallachan free, and let him down on the ship's deck, and then gave Ceallachan the sword he held in his left hand. Ceallachan went from Sitric's ship to that of Failbhe; and Failbhe continued to hew down the Lochlonnaigh until they overpowering him, slew him and cut off his head. Fianghal, a leader of his followers, took his place in the conflict, and seizing Sitric by the breast by force, cast both of them overboard, and they went to the bottom and thus were drowned.

Seaghdha and Conall, two other leaders, came on and seized Sitric's two brothers, to wit, Tor and Magnus, and threw them overboard, so that the four were



3645 gceatruar. Agus mar rin da gac fuirceann oile do gae-  
 ealaib, lingio ar loclonnaib, gur bfuiread i r gur bearna-  
 gur marbad i r gur míoóirigead leo iad, go na c téarina  
 oíob uacá a c beagán do cuair tré luar a long ar, agus  
 tigró féin i r Ceallacán i r i r ar n-a fíorúcin a han-  
 bhoir loclonna c amlaio rin lé crioúac i r lé calmac c  
 3650 na Muimneac; agus tuallaio ar rin von muman  
 mar don lé Ceallacán, gur gab ré ceannar a éirice féin  
 arir.

Agus ré tualall oíob ó á c Clia c von muman do  
 togaru Muirca c mac floinn ní laigean ca c do tabairt  
 3655 oíob tré marbad loclonna c ag buain Ceallacán oíob.  
 Gíreac ar bfairin éirúac i r calmac c na Muimneac  
 do léigeac ar tarra iad gan ca c do tabairt oíob.

## XXIII.

Iar uilleac iomorro do Ceallacán von muman do  
 mear méo na hanbhoir do bi ag loclonnaib ar an  
 3660 muman, agus do rinne féin i r uairle Muimneac do  
 domairle u c do tabairt oirra da noibirt, agus lingio ar  
 uir ar luimneac, agus marbair Ceallacán i r a fíuag  
 cúig céao oíob, agus tug a mbairge leir. Da éir rin  
 airgeac Corca c leir, agus tug a mbairge i r a maoin  
 3665 leir. Airgeac fíor Cairca leir, agus marbair tré céao  
 do loclonnaib ann. Téio ar rin go porc lairge i r gab-  
 tar an baile i r airgeac leir é, agus tug maíom mói ar  
 Síric mac íomair agus marbair cúig céao da muinnir,  
 agus teir Síric féin n-a loingeac, agus fillir Ceall-  
 3670 acán go Doimnall Ó bfaoláin ní na nDéire, agus tug a  
 fíur féin fíormfáit ingean buaúacáin n-a mnaoi oí.  
 I r gíro da éir rin go bfair Ceallacán bá r i r do gab



drowned in that manner. And in like manner acted every other company of the Gaels; they sprang on the Lochlonnaigh and broke them up, made gaps through them, slew them, and threw them into disorder, so that there escaped from them only a few who were saved by the swiftness of their ships, and they went on land with Ceallachan who had thus been rescued from Lochlonnach captivity by the valour and prowess of the Munstermen; and thence they proceeded to Munster with Ceallachan, and he resumed the government of his own country.

And as they were setting out from Ath Cliath for Munster, Murchadh son of Flann, king of Leinster, sought to give them battle for having slain so many Lochlonnaigh in rescuing Ceallachan from them. But when they saw how brave and valiant the Munstermen were, they allowed them to pass without giving them battle.

### XXIII.

But when Ceallachan returned to Munster he considered how severely the Lochlonnaigh oppressed Munster, and he himself and the nobles of Munster resolved to attack them with a view to banishing them; and they first made a sudden attack on Luimneach, and Ceallachan and his host slew five hundred of them and took away hostages from them. After this he plundered Corcach and brought hostages and treasures therefrom. He also plundered Cashel, and three hundred Lochlonnaigh were slain there. Thence he went to Port Lairge and took possession of the town and plundered it, and he inflicted a severe defeat on Sitric, son of Iomhar, and slew five hundred of his people; and Sitric himself took flight in his fleet; and Ceallachan returned to Domhnall O'Faolain, king of the Deise, and gave him his own sister Gormfhlaith, daughter of Baudhachan, to wife. Soon after that Ceallachan died,

Feargháirí mac Ailgionáin mic Donnghaile flaitéar Muíhan  
 iar mbár Ceallacháin sup mairbhadaí a éine féin i bfeall  
 3675 é. Gabair Matghamain mac Cinnéiríó dá éir rin flaitéar  
 Muíhan dá bliadain véas agus eétiúearn mac Cinnéiríó  
 i gceannar Tuamumhan pé a linn.

Ir é Matghamain mac Cinnéiríó ní Muíhan ir a  
 úearbhádaí hrian mac Cinnéiríó, do bi 'n-a mácaom  
 3680 ós an triát roim, tug Cat Sulcóiríe ar Loélonnais, áit  
 ar mairbháó Teitill Tríénmíleáó Ruamonn ir bearnaro  
 Muirir Luimniú ir Topolb ir dá céao véas do Loélonn-  
 ais mair don níú; agus do lean Matghamain ir hrian ir  
 Dál gCair an ruais orra fá íráiríó Luimniú irteáó agus  
 3685 do mairbháó iomao víob ar na íráiríó agus ann rna  
 tigéib, go vtugrao uatá iomao óir ir airtio reo ir  
 maoiné; do loireríó ir do éparcáiríó a nóúinte ir a  
 noaingne mair an gcéao. Go gíroo dá éir rin do  
 fealláó ar Matghamain mac Cinnéiríó lé Donnabán 'n-a  
 3690 éis féin, ir do éioúlaic do mac hrian ir do gálais é  
 tar comairce Ólaim mic Ciaraigáin comoriba baime, ir  
 do mairbháó Matghamain tar comairce an naoim lé mac  
 hrian.

Ir pé linn Donncaóa mic Floinn tSionna míog éireann  
 3695 ar a bfuilmíó ag triáctáó, tarbhadaí na neite-re roimainn  
 ríor, mair atá, báí Cíaráin earrpuis Tuiléin agus triall  
 an Donncaóa céaoa o'arigain ir do éreáóó Connaét.  
 Tríeáó do mairbháó iomao dá muinntir i nDuibéirí áta  
 Luain, áit ar éuit Cionaoé mac Conéubair ní Ó bFáilge.  
 3700 Ir pán am-ro do hairgeáó Cluain mic Nóir lé Loélonnais  
 agus a oteáét ar rin ar loé Rib sup airtiríó na tioréa  
 dá gac leir ví. Do hairgeáó fór ir do creáóó éimpe  
 lé Loélonnais, ir do mairbháó dá céao véas do gaeóeal-  
 ais lann. Dá éir rin do báóó dá céao véas do



and after his death Feargraidh, son of Ailghionan, son of Donnghal, held the sovereignty of Munster till his own tribe slew him by treachery. After this Mathghamhain, son of Cinneide, held the sovereignty of Munster twelve years, and in his time Echthighearn, son of Cinneide, was chief of Thomond.

It was Mathghamhain, son of Cinneide, king of Munster, and his brother Brian, son of Cinneide, who was then a stripling, who won the Battle of Sulchoid over the Lochlonnaigh wherein Teitill Treimhileadh Ruamonn and Bearnard Muiris of Luimneach and Torolbh and twelve hundred Lochlonnaigh were slain, and Mathghamhain and Brian and the Dal gCais pursued them as they retreated in through the streets of Luimneach, and many of them were slain in the streets and in the houses, and they gave up much gold and silver, valuables and goods; and also their duns and fortresses were burned and thrown down. Soon after this Donnabhan seized on Mathghamhain by treachery in his own house and gave him over to the son of Bran and to the foreigners in violation of the protection of Colam, son of Ciaragan, the comhorba of Baire; and the son of Bran, slew Mathghamhain in violation of the saint's protection.

It was in the time of Donnchadh, son of Flonn Sionna, king of Ireland, of whom we are treating, that the following events took place, to wit, the death of Ciaran, bishop of Tuilen, and the going of this Donnchadh to plunder and spoil Connaught. However, many of his followers were slain in Duibhthir Atha Luain, where Cionaoth, son of Conchubhar, king of Ui Failghe fell. It was about this time that Cluain mic Nois was plundered by the Lochlonnaigh, and they went thence on Lough Ribh and plundered the country on either side of it. The Lochlonnaigh also plundered and spoiled Eininse, and two hundred Gaels were slain there. After this twelve hundred Lochlonnaigh



- 3705 Loélonnaisb ar Loé Ruóruige, agus vo gábadar Loélonnaisg áta Cliaé Faolán mac Muireadúis ní laigean ir a élanm marí don rir, agus no hairgead Dún Sobairce lé Loélonnaisb Loéa Cuan ir vo hairgead Cill Dara lé Loélonnaisb Puiric lairge. So ghuo da éir rin tugad
- 3710 ar ríomóir ar Loélonnaisb lé hulltaib, áit ar éuit oét gcéad vo Loélonnaisb ann, marí don mé triúir taoirgead vo bí orra, marí atá Albóán Aupar ir Roilt, lé Muirceartac mac Néill.

- Ir fán am-ro vo bí an oirgead roim vo tráct ceann-
- 3715 aitéadéa i nÉirinn an tan táinig iarla Oilfínn vo Loélonnaisb so neart luimnig ir Connaéct vo Loélonnaisb fá donac Ropa Cré lá Peardair ir Póil, gur éirgeadair luét an donaisg 'n-a gcoinne, gur fearad cat eastoirra, ir vo marbad a trí nó a ceatair vo míltib vo Loélonnaisb
- 3720 ann; agus an t-iarla féin vo marbad é marí don ríú, vo méir Fingín mic Cairicéig ran leabhrán mo ríriob so cumair ar úalaib éiréann ó éir gur an am-ro. Ir é iomorro Taó mac Caéail fá ní Connaéct fíde bliadán an tan roim; agus fuair Sitric mac Íomair ní Fionnloé-
- 3725 lonnac ir Dubloélonnac bair an tráct-ro. Ir fán am-ro tugad ar móir ar Loélonnaisb Loéa Oirbrian lé Connaéct-aisb, agus tugad veartáir ar Loélonnaisb Loé neadac lé Conaing mac Néill, áit ar éuit dá céad véas díob. Da éir rin tángadair Loélonnaisg ar Loé éirne, gur hairgead
- 3730 cealla ir tuata leo; agus vo hairgead Aró Maca lé Gótfraó taoirgead Loéa Cuan; vo hairgead Cill Cuilinn le hámraib mac Gótfraóda, so utug veic gcéad vo bhaiguib ar leir. Vo hairgead Oilead Néio lé Loélonnaisb ir vo gábad Muirceartac mac Néill ann, gur
- 3735 fuarcail Dia so míorbairleac é. So ghuo da éir rin vo marbad Aralt mac Íomair taoirgead Loélonnac luimnig lé Connaéctaisb agus fuair Amraib mac Gótfraóda ní

were drowned in Lough Rudhruighe, and the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath seized on Faolan, son of Muireadhach, king of Leinster, and his children; and Dun Sobhairce was plundered by the Lochlonnaigh of Port Lairge. Soon after this the Ultonians made great slaughter on the Lochlonnaigh in which eight hundred of them, together with three of their leaders, to wit, Albán, Aufer and Roilt, fell by Muircheartach, son of Niall.

About this time there was a large trading business carried on with Ireland when the Lochlonnach earl Oilfinn came with the Lochlonnach forces of Luimneach and Connaught to the fair of Ros Cre on the feast of Peter and Paul; and the people at the fair stood up against them, and three or four thousand Lochlonnaigh were slain there, and the earl himself was slain with them, according to Finghin Mac Carrthaigh in the booklet which he has written giving a brief account of Irish affairs from the beginning to this time. At this period Tadhg, son of Cathal, was king of Connaught twenty years; and Sitric, son of Iomhar, king of the Fionnlochlonnaigh and the Dubhlochlonnaigh, died. About this time the Connaughtmen wrought great slaughter on the Lochlonnaigh of Loch Oirbsean; and Conaing, son of Niall, wrought dreadful slaughter on the Lochlonnaigh of Loch nEachach wherein two hundred of them fell. After this a party of Lochlonnaigh came on Loch Eirne and they plundered churches and districts; and Gothfraidh, chief of Loch Cuan, plundered Ard Macha; Cill Chuilinn was plundered by Amhlaoibh, son of Gothfraidh, and he took thence ten hundred prisoners. Oileach Neid was plundered by the Lochlonnaigh, and Muircheartach, son of Niall, was captured there, but God set him free by a miracle. Soon after this Aralt, son of Iomhar, chief of the Lochlonnaigh of Luimneach, was slain by the Connaughtmen; and Amhlaoibh, son of Gothfraidh, king of



Fionnlochlonnae iŕ Dublochlonnae báŕ, aŕur vo maibhá  
 loicán mac faoláin ní laigean lé luét na Noŕmante.  
 3740 Iŕ fán am-ro táinig mac pŕionnŕa na bŕeatan, Rodoricur  
 a ainm, o'arŕgain éŕieann aŕur maibháŕ lé héŕieannáib  
 é, vo réir hanmeŕ, an tan fá haoir von Tigearna 966.  
 Iŕ fán am-ro vo hŕiŕgeaó áé Cliaé lé Congal mac  
 Maoilíníú, áit ar maibháó vá fíú iŕ céao vo lochlonn-  
 3745 aib ann, aŕur tugaó a reoŕe iŕ a maoine uaéa. Da  
 éir rin fuair Donnéaó mac Floinn tŕionna ní éŕieann  
 báŕ.

Vo ſab Congalaé mac Maoilíníú mic Flannagáin  
 mic Ceallaiſ mic Conaing mic Congaile mic Aoúa Sláine  
 3750 vo fíol éŕieamóin ríogaéé éŕieann veic mbliáúna. Muŕe  
 inſean Cionaoéa mic Ailpín ríog Alban máŕair an Congal-  
 aiſ-re. Iŕ 'n-a flaitéar vo ŕinneaó na ſníoma-ro ríor.  
 Óir iŕ ann fuair Etimonn ní Sacŕan báŕ aŕur bláéúŕie  
 mac íomair ní na Noŕmante, aŕur tugaó Caé Muine  
 3755 bŕógaín lé Congalaé mac Maoilíníú ní éŕieann ar  
 lochlonnaib, áit ar éuit reaeé mile úioé iŕ iomaó vo  
 ſaeúealaib von leit oile.

An ceatŕamaó bliáúain vo flaitéar an Congalaíſ-re  
 mic Maoilíníú vo ſab bŕian bóŕoime mac Cinnéioú  
 3760 ríogaéé Muŕan; aŕur an vaŕa bliáúain iar ngabáil  
 flaitíŕ Muŕan vo bŕian vo fógair Caé bealaíſ leaeéa  
 ar maolmuaió mic bŕain ní ó neaeéa i noíogaíl a  
 úeairbŕáŕaí Maéſamna vo maibhá i bŕeall lé muinntir  
 mic bŕain. Tionólaíŕ mac bŕain móŕfluaſ vo ſallaib  
 3765 iŕ vo ſaeúealaib, ionnur ſo maóuair mile ſo leit vo  
 lochlonnaib aige aŕur caé móir vo ſaeúealaib. Taiŕur  
 rin vo bŕur bŕian iŕ vól ſcaíŕ úioé ſur maibháó iomaó  
 naé áŕŕmíſŕeair úioé, aŕur an méro naéair maibháó vo



the Fionnlochlonnaigh and of the Dubhlochlonnaigh, died, and Lorcan, son of Faolan, king of Leinster, was slain by the men of Normandy. It was at this time that the son of the prince of Wales, whose name was Rodoricus, came to plunder Ireland; and he was slain by the Irish according to Hanmer in the year of the Lord 966. It was about this time that Ath Cliath was plundered by Conghal, son of Maoilmithidh, and one hundred and forty Lochlonnaigh were there slain, and their valuables and their goods were taken from them. After this Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, king of Ireland, died.

Conghalach, son of Maoilmithidh, son of Flanagan, son of Ceallach, son of Conaing, son of Conghal, son of Aodh Slaine, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland ten years. Muire, daughter of Cionaoth, son of Ailpin, king of Alba, was the mother of this Conghalach. It was in his reign the following events took place. For it was then that Etimonn, king of Sacsas, and Blathchuire, son of Iomhar, king of Normandy, died; and Conghalach, son of Maoilmithidh, king of Ireland, fought the battle of Muine Brogain against the Lochlonnaigh where seven thousand of them fell, as well as many Gaels on the other side.

The fourth year of the reign of this Conghalach, son of Maoilmithidh, Brian Boroimhe, son of Cinneide, assumed the sovereignty of Munster; and the second year after he had become king of Munster he gave notice to Maolmhuidh, son of Bran, king of Uí Néill, that he would give him battle at Bealach Leachta to avenge his brother Mathghamhain who was treacherously slain by the followers of the son of Bran. The son of Bran assembled a great host of foreigners and of Gaels; so that he had one thousand four hundred Lochlonnaigh and a large battalion of Gaels. Still Brian and the Dal gCais defeated them, so that many of them, of whom we have no mention, were slain, and

gabao lé brian iao. Da éir rin vo éogaib Doimnall o  
 3770 faoláin pí na nDéire ir íomari púirt lairge cozaó ar  
 brian agur vo hairgeao umhór na Mumán leo. Siúeao  
 an tan iuz brian oiria, ir vo fearao cat eatoppia i  
 bfan mic Connrae, vo bpi brian vo loclonnaib ir vo  
 piú na nDéire, agur leanair brian ir Dál gcair an  
 3775 bpiroao go poric lairge, agur vo marbaó Doimnall ó  
 faoláin ir umhór gall púirt lairge lé brian an tan  
 roin. Vo hairgeao ir vo loirceao an baile leir.

i gcionn oet mbliaoan iari ngabail flaitir Mumán vo  
 brian, fá héigean vo leit Moza uile gill vó. Siúeao  
 3780 iari n-éas vo Doimnall élaon mac Doimnail pí lairgean,  
 vo euavari loclonnaig ir Gaedil lairgean i n-easumla ar  
 brian. Tionólair brian mórfuaig Mumán i n-agaio gall  
 ir lairgean sup commóro cat glinne máma eatoppia.  
 áet éana vo bpi brian vo loclonnaib ir vo laignib,  
 3785 sup marbaó éeipie míle díob ran cat roin. Ga utám  
 pui vo bpi brian cúig cata píceao ar loclonnaib ón  
 geáoacat tug oiria sup an gcat noéíreanae i n-ar marbaó  
 é píen .i. Cat Cluana Tapib.

Da éir rin téio Congalaé mac Maoilmiéir pí éipeann  
 3790 o'arraigir ir vo éreáoó Mumán sup marbaó dá mac  
 Cinnéioir mic Loricáin leir .i. Ecéigearin ir Donn Cuan.  
 Vo hairgeao da éir rin Ceanannur ir Doimnae páorais  
 ir dro páorais ir Cill Scipe ir iomao ceall oile ó roin  
 amaé lé goéppioir mac Siúreaca ir lé loclonnaib áta  
 3795 cliaé, áit ar gabao trí míle vo dáoinib ann mar don pí  
 hiomao díri ir aipio ir éavála vo bpiet ar leo. Ir fán  
 am-ro fusir Eirne ingean feargáile bainpíogán éipeann  
 .i. bean Congalaig mic Maoilmiéir báir ir Maolcolm  
 mac Doimnail pí Alban ir Gaotinne earrog Dúin



those who were not slain were captured by Brian. After this Domhnall O Faolain, king of the Deise, and Iomhar of Port Lairge made war on Brian, and they plundered the greater part of Munster. But when Brian came up to them and a battle took place between them at Fan mic Connrach, he defeated the Lochlonnaigh and the king of Deise, and Brian and the Dal gCais pursued the defeated host to Port Lairge, and Domhnall O Faolain and most of the foreigners of Port Lairge were slain by Brian on that occasion. He plundered and burned the town.

When Brian had been eight years king of Munster the whole of Leath Mogha were forced to give him hostages. But after the death of Domhnall Claon, son of Domhnall, king of Leinster, both the Lochlonnaigh and the Gaels of Leinster refused to submit to him. Brian assembled the main host of Munster to oppose the foreigners and the Leinstermen, and the Battle of Gleann Mama was set on foot between them. And Brian defeated the Lochlonnaigh and the Leinstermen, and four thousand of them were slain in that battle. In short, Brian defeated the Lochlonnaigh in twenty-five battles, from the first battle he fought against them to the last, that is the Battle of Cluain Tarbh, in which himself was slain.

After this Conghalach, son of Maoilmithidh, king of Ireland, went to plunder and spoil Munster, and he slew two sons of Cinneide, son of Lorcan, to wit, Echthighearn and Donn Cuan. After that Gothfriadh, son of Sitric and the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath plundered Ceanannus and Domhnach Padraig and Ard Padraig and Cill Scire and many other churches, and they seized on three thousand people in this place and took away with them much gold and silver and booty. It was about this time that Eithne, daughter of Fearghal, queen of Ireland, that is, the wife of Conghalach, son of Maoilmithidh, and Maolcolum, son of Domhnall, king of Alba, and Gaoithinne, bishop of



3800 Léatglaise ir Tadh mac Cathail ní Connaët. Ir ghrú na  
éir rin gur marbhadh Congalach mac Maoilíníoch ní Éireann  
i nArd Macla lé Lochlannaib áta Cliait ir lé Laighnib.

Do gab Donnall mac Muirceartaigh mic Néill glú-  
nuib do ríol Éireannóin ríogaët Éireann veic mbliadhna.  
3805 Ir i bhlaitear an ríogaët do hairgeadh Cill Dara lé  
hamlaib mac Siuicaca ir lé Lochlannaib áta Cliait;  
agus do éad Donnall mac Muirceartaigh ní Éireann do  
éadadh ir o'airgan Connaët, go dtug cheada ir bairge  
ó Feargal Ó Ruairc do bi 'n-a ríog Connaët an tan sin.

3810 Ir fán am-ro fóir do tógadh teampull móir Tuama  
Shéine ir a éoládaic lé Cormac na Cillín earraig  
Tuama Séine, ir do marbhadh Feargal na Ruairc ní  
Connaët lé Donnall mac Congalach mac Maoilíníoch,  
agus do hairgeadh ir do loirceadh Luimneach ar Lochlann-  
3815 aib lé Brian mac Cinnéid ní Muir. Na éir rin do  
éad Donnall Ó Néill go rluadh lionnair mar don gur go  
Laighnib gur air an éiríoch ó bairda roir go fairrige, ir  
go nbeairiad forlongróir ná níor ann o'airdeoin Loch-  
lannach ir Laigean; agus fuair Maoilínnéin mac Uctáin  
3820 earraig Ceanannra ir comorba ulltáin báir, agus do  
hairgeadh Ceanannra lé hamlaib Cuairán ir lé Lochlann-  
aib Laigean, go dtug chead móir ir iomao éadala ar,  
agus tug mairm móir adhal ar Uib Néill, áit ar éir  
iomao na gac leir. Ir fán am-ro tugadh Cath Cille Móna  
3825 lé Donnall mac Congalach ir le Lochlannaib áta Cliait  
ar Donnall mac Muirceartaigh ní Éireann, áit ar éir  
arogal mac Maogáin do bi 'n-a ríog Ula do fead  
mbliadhna véas, ir Donnagán mac Maoilíníoch ní Oirgiall  
ir iomao do ádoinib uairle oile mar don gur. Go ghrú

Dun Leathghlaise, and Tadhg, son of Cathal, king of Connaught, died. Soon after this, Conghalach son of Maoilmithidh, king of Ireland, was slain at Ard Macha by the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath and by the Lagenians.

Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, son of Niall Glundubh, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland ten years. It was in this king's reign that Cill Dara was plundered by Amhlaoibh, son of Sitric, and the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath; and Domhnall son of Muircheartach, king of Ireland, went to spoil and plunder Connaught, and took preys of cattle and hostages from Fearghal O Ruairc, who was then king of Connaught.

It was also about this time that the principal church of Tuaim Greine and its tower were built by Cormac Ua Cillin, bishop of Tuaim Greine; and Fearghal O Ruairc, king of Connaught, was slain by Domhnall, son of Conghalach, son of Maoilmithidh; and Brian, son of Cinneide, king of Munster, plundered and burned Luimneach against the Lochlonnaigh. After this, Domhnall O Neill with a numerous host went into Leinster and plundered the country from the Bearbha eastwards to the sea, and encamped there for two months in spite of the Lochlonnaigh and the Leinstermen; and Maoilfinnein, son of Uchtan, bishop of Ceanannus and comhorba of Ulltan, died, and Ceanannus was plundered by Amhlaoibh Cuaran, and the Lochlonnaigh of Leinster, who took thence a large prey of cattle and much booty; and they inflicted a great and dreadful defeat on the Ui Neill when many fell on either side. It was about this time that the Battle of Cill Mona was won by Domhnall, son of Conghalach, and the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath over Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, king of Ireland, wherein fell Ardghal, son of Madagan, who was king of Ulster seventeen years, and Donnagan, son of Maolmuire, king of Oirghiall, with many other nobles. Soon after this Beacan,



3830 Da éir rin fuair béacán earpgos Finne bár, agus Cionaoí  
 Ó harpagáin príomáirí arto Maéa, agus vo gabad uéaire  
 mac Tuatáil ní laigean lé loélonnais áta Cliaé. Da  
 éir rin vo harpgad inir Catáig ar loélonnais lé brian  
 mac Cinnéirí ní Mumán, áit ar éir oét gcéad vo loé-  
 3835 lonnais ann; agus vo gabad triar taoiréad vo loélon-  
 nais ann .i. íomár, ámlaoib ir Duibhéann; gonaó ve  
 rin aveir an file:

3840

An t-ár i nínir Catáig  
 leat tugad, ní gníom meataig,  
 Dar harbair ríogruí na nGall  
 um íomár ir um Duibhéann.

Ir fán am-ro tugad Cat bioélainne ar laiguib lé  
 loélonnais áta Cliaé, mar ar marbad uéaire mac Tuat-  
 áil ní laigean. So gíroo da éir rin fuair Domnall mac  
 3845 Muircearraig ní éireann bár i nárto Maéa.

## XXIV.

Vo gab Maoilfeaclainn mac Domnall mic Floinn  
 tSionna mic Maoilfeaclainn mic Maoilruanuirí vo fiol  
 éireamóin ríogadé éireann trí bliána rícead. Dúnlaé  
 ingean Muircearraig mic Néill mátarí an Maoilfeac-  
 3850 lainn-re; agus Glúiníapann ní loélonnac i néirinn. Ir  
 i bplaitear an Maoilfeaclainn-re vo pinnead na gníoma-  
 ro ríor. Óir ir lé Maoilfeaclainn féin tugad Cat  
 Teampac ar macaib ámlaoib agus ar loélonnais áta  
 Cliaé, áit ar marbad Ragnall mac ámlaoib ríogdamna  
 3855 loélonnac ir cúig céad vo loélonnais marí don rir. Da  
 éir rin vo éuarí Maoilfeaclainn ní éireann ir eócarí



bishop of Finne, and Cionaoth O Hartagain, primate of Ard Macha, died; and Ughaire, son of Tuathal, king of Leinster, was captured by the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath. After this Inis Cathaigh, which was in the hands of the Lochlonnaigh, was plundered by Brian, son of Cinneide, king of Munster, and there fell eight hundred of the Lochlonnaigh; and three Lochlonnach chiefs were captured there, to wit, Iomhar, Amhlaoibh and Duibhgheann; hence the poet says :

The slaughter at Inis Cathaigh  
Was thy work, no wastrel's deed,  
In which thou didst slay the leaders of the foreigners  
Around Iomhar and around Duibhgheann.

It was about this time that the Battle of Biothlann was won from the Leinstermen by the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath, wherein Ughaire, son of Tuathal, king of Leinster, was slain. Soon after this Domhnall, son of Muircheartach, king of Ireland, died at Ard Macha.

## XXIV.

Maoilseachlainn, son of Domhnall, son of Flann Sionna, son of Maoilseachlainn, son of Maolruanuidh, of the race of Eireamhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty-three years. Dunlaith, daughter of Muircheartach, son of Niall, was the mother of this Maoilseachlainn, and Gluiniarann was the king of the Lochlonnaigh in Ireland. It was in the reign of this Maoilseachlainn that the following events took place. For it was Maoilseachlainn himself who won the Battle of Tara over the sons of Amhlaoibh and the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath, wherein Raghnaill, son of Amhlaoibh, heir apparent to the sovereignty of the Lochlonnaigh, with five hundred Lochlonnaigh were slain. After this Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, and Eochaidh,

mac Aroḡail, vo bí 'n-a níg ulaó cúig bliadhna véas ar  
 píeto, vo éreacáó iḡ o'arḡain áta Cliaé ar Loélonnaiḃ  
 3860 go nveapirao forlongḡort tḡi lá iḡ tḡi n-oiré ann, go  
 otugrao an méio a bí i mbrioto ag Loélonnaiḃ ar .i.  
 Domnall Claon ní laigean iḡ uppuíoe uí néill ar éana,  
 agur vo beanavari vo Loélonnaiḃ gan oigḡéir vo beit  
 orra, iḡ raoirpe vo beit aca ó Síonainn go muir gan cíor  
 ná cáin uaéa vo Loélonnaiḃ. Iḡ fán am-ro vo cuirpeáó  
 3865 Amhlaoib mac Siḡreaca arutaoirpeáó Loélonnaé i nÉirinn  
 ar oibirt iḡ ar veoraióeacé go hí Colum Éille i nÁlban  
 iar n-a ionnarḡbaó a héirinn lé Saévealaib.

Téio Maoilreacélainn ní Éireann o'arḡain iḡ vo  
 éreacáó Dál ḡCair, iḡ vo tearcaó bile Maighe hAdar  
 3870 leir. ḡrúeáó féac, a léagtóir, an nveacáó leir gan  
 víogail ó ḡruan, amail iḡ follur va éir ro. Agur vo  
 haiḡgeáó ḡleann vá loé lé tḡi macaib Ceapḡaill mic  
 Lorcáin. ḡrúeáó vo marḡbaó iao a tḡriúr i n-aon oiré  
 go ḡroo va éir rin tḡe feapḡaib Caoimḡin vo beannuig  
 3875 gan áit rin. Iḡ fán am roin fuair Mór inḡean Donnécáda  
 mic Ceallaiḡ bainḡioḡan Éireann báḡ, agur ioraiḡo mac  
 Coirpe pḡiómáio Aro Maéa; agur vo haiḡgeáó Domnác  
 Páoraiḡ lé Loélonnaiḡ áta Cliaé iḡ lé Muirceapḡaé Ua  
 Congalaig. ḡrúeáó vo víogail Dia rin orra .i. a mbár vo  
 3880 éeacé i nveirpeáó an míora roin féin. Va éir rin tug  
 Maoilreacélainn ní Éireann fail nó fáinne óir ar éigin  
 ó éaoirpeáó vo Loélonnaiḃ vaḡ b'ainm Tomair agur cloiró-  
 eam ó éaoirpeáó oile vaḡ b'ainm Caplur.

Tairir rin ar n-a mear o'uairlib Leite Moḡa iḡ  
 3885 upmóir Connacé ḡurab é ḡruan mac Cinnéirí vo bí ag  
 faḡáil vuair iḡ voḡruingse pé oibirt Loélonnaé a héirinn  
 iḡ go otug Maoilreacélainn vo ba ní ar Éirinn an tan



son of Ardghal, who was thirty-five years king of Ulster, went to spoil and plunder Ath Cliath against the Lochlonnaigh, and they encamped there three days and three nights, and brought thence as many as were held as captives by the Lochlonnaigh, to wit, Domhnall Claon, king of Leinster, and the sureties of the Ui Neill in general, and they forced the Lochlonnaigh to acknowledge their independence, and to allow them have their lands from the Sionainn to the sea free of Lochlonnach tribute or impost. It was about this time that Amhlaoibh, son of Sitric, chief leader of the Lochlonnaigh in Ireland, was banished and exiled to I Columcille in Alba, the Gaels having driven him out of Ireland.

Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, went to plunder and spoil the Dal gCais, and he cut down the tree of Magh Adhar. But, O reader, see whether he escaped punishment from Brian, as will appear later on. And Gleann da Loch was plundered by the three sons of Cearbhall, son of Lorcan. But the three were slain in one night soon after through the power of Caoimhghin who had lived and blessed there. It was about this time that Mor, daughter of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, queen of Ireland, and Iorard mac Coise, primate of Ard Macha, died; and Domhnach Padraig was plundered by the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath and by Muircheartach O Conghalaigh. But God avenged this deed on them, for their death took place at the end of that very month. After this, Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, carried off by force a collar or ring of gold from a Lochlonnach leader called Tomair and a sword from another leader called Carlus.

Nevertheless, when the nobles of Leath Mogha and of the greater part of Connaught considered that it was Brian son of Cinneide who was undergoing the labour and hardship of expelling the Lochlonnaigh from Ireland, and that Maoilseachlainn, who was the king of Ireland, gave himself



roin é féin vo fádaile ir vo fearcaimeáct ir vo fuaí-  
neas, inneall fá héavtarbáct mé cornam éimeann an  
3890 tríd roin, uime rin, ir i comairle vo cinneá lé brian  
ir leir na huairlib vo bí 'n-a fódair teácta vo éur uáta  
go Maoilfeaclainn .i. ní éimeann, va noétaó vó nar  
b'oirceas vo neac flaiteas éimeann vo gabáil áct von  
cí vo éreanfaó é féin mé taéran eáctran ar an gcúic,  
3895 asur ó'ir é brian vo bí as faáil uair a noibearta sur  
ólíctead vó flaiteas éimeann v'faáil tréir an gcúic  
v'fóirctin a hanbpoio allmuppac. Iarrai rór ar an nís  
coinne vo fneasra vóib as Maiš vá éamós, asur níor  
doutuis rin. Va éir rin vo éur brian mac Cinnéioir  
3900 cruinnuáó ir coimciónól ar uairlib leite Moša vuir  
loélonnais ir fáeéalais go haonlátair, óir fá héigean  
von méio vo loélonnais vo bí i leit Moša beir uíal  
vó fán am roin, asur cuallair brian leo go Teamraíš  
na Ríog.

3905 Leir rin iomorro cuir teácta uair go Maoilfeac-  
lainn fá ní éimeann, va iarrai air briaíoe vo éur  
éur fá beir uíal uppac mar nís éimeann vó féin,  
nó cat vo fneasra vó. Síeas tug brian a moša vo  
máoilfeaclainn vóib. Vo b'é fneasra máoilfeaclainn  
3910 ar na teáctais, vá bfaáó cairve miora ó brian mé  
coimciónól leite Cuinn éur go haonlátair go vtiubraó  
cat nó géill vo brian; asur vo gab comairce as na  
teáctais gan a léigean vo brian an míoe v'ionnraó ná  
v'arain áct anáin i vTeamraíš ar feá na miora roin,  
3915 asur an tan vo-féabá fneasra ó leit Cuinn go vtiubraó  
féin cat nó briaíoe vó. Tillir na teácta tar a n-air go  
brian asur noétar fneasra máoilfeaclainn oppa.  
“Maféá,” ar brian, “vo-beirum an cairve rin vóib.”

Áct éana ir i comairle ar cinneá lé Maoilfeac-  
3920 lainn Siolla Comgail Ó Sléibin .i. a ollam féin vo éur

up to luxury and comfort and ease, a line of action that was useless for the defence of Ireland at that juncture, Brian and the nobles who were with him resolved for these reasons to send envoys to Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, to inform him that it was not right that anyone should hold the sovereignty of Ireland but one who should devote his energies to banishing the foreigners from the country, and that, as it was Brian who was undergoing the labour of banishing them, it was right he should get the sovereignty of Ireland for having relieved the country from the oppression of the foreigners. They also asked of the king to meet them at Magh da Chaomhog, but he did not agree to this. After this Brian, son of Cinneide, assembled and brought together the nobles of Leath Mogha both Lochlonnaigh and Gaels, for as many of the Lochlonnaigh as were in Leath Mogha were forced to submit to him at this time, and he marched with them to Tara of the Kings.

Thereupon he sent envoys to Maoilseachlainn who was king of Ireland, asking him to send him sureties for his being obedient and submissive to him as king of Ireland, or to meet him in battle. So Brian gave Maoilseachlainn his choice of these courses. Maoilseachlainn's answer to the envoys was that if Brian gave him a month's respite to summon to him to one place the forces of Leath Cuinn he would give either hostages or battle to him, and he charged the envoys not to permit Brian to waste or plunder Meath, but that he should remain at Tara during that month, and that he himself would give him either battle or hostages as soon as he had got a reply from Leath Cuinn. The envoys returned to Brian and told him the answer they had got from Maoilseachlainn. "Then," said Brian, "I grant them that respite."

Now what Maoilseachlainn resolved on was to send Giolla Comhghaill O Sleibhin, his own ollamh, to Aodh



ar ceann Aodá Uí Néill i r Eoðac mic Aroðail ríog Ulaó,  
 i r Catáil Uí Conéubair ríog Connaéct, 'sa iarraid órra  
 tigeaéct san fuireac do fneartal éata leir féin i n-aðaió  
 3925 brian i r Dál gCair, agus muna dtigóir rin uile do  
 éorñam fíaoirre Teamhac da gcine féin atá 'n-a reilb lé  
 cian o'aimirir go dtuibraó féin briaíoe do brian fá beic  
 uimál nó, do briaí naé maibe ionéomlaimn mair, "agus i r  
 fíoir," ar Maoilfeaclaimn, "naé mó do náire óam-ra san  
 Teamhair do éorñam ioná do élanmaib Néill i r do fíuaí  
 3930 leice Cumn ar éana." Tmallaí an t-ollam leir na  
 rcéalais rin go huairlib leice Cumn, agus noéatir a turaí  
 i r a tóiré oóib. Sídeao i r é fneasra tús Aodá Ó Néill  
 air: "An tan do bí Teamhair ag Cinéal Eoðain," ar fé,  
 "do éorñadair féin í, agus an té ag a bfuil rí anoir  
 3935 fearuigeao a fíaoirre;" agus aubhairt fóir naé cuirfeao  
 féin Dál gCair i bpaia mair ag corñam míge do neac oile.  
 Táinig an t-ollam tar a air go Maoilfeaclaimn i r noéatir  
 fneasra Aodá Uí Néill nó. Aét éana téio Maoilfeacla-  
 3940 imn féin o'ionnruige Aodá, i r gabair ag a síuie um  
 éaéct lair do éur éata i n-aðaió Dál gCair, agus aubhairt  
 mair, "Corain Teamhair uuit féin," ar fé, "agus do-béam-ra  
 briaíoe uuit fá Teamhair do léigean éusac, óir i r fearir  
 liom ionár a beic ag brian. Taire rin muna dtigíó tura  
 liom caiteao uimla do brian ó naé fuilim ionéomhac  
 3945 mair."

Cuirir Aodá Ó Néill ciumnuíao i r coméionól ar Cinéal  
 neoðain go haonláatir éuige, agus noéatir oóib turaí  
 Maoilfeaclaimn da n-ionnruige agus na tairgrióna tús  
 nó féin tmeí uil leir do éur éata i n-aðaió brian i r Dál  
 3950 gCair. Do fneasairíon Cinéal Eoðain nó agus i r eao  
 aubhraidair naé maibe aét cealg i ngeallao Maoilfeaclaimn  
 nó, "óir i r dearb lair suab rine i r suab fearir é féin  
 ioná tura, agus uime rin naé iarrfá flaitear éireann air



O'Neill, and Eochaidh, son of Ardghal, king of Ulster, and Cathal O Conchubhair, king of Connaught, asking them to come without delay to do battle with him against Brian and the Dal gCais, and pointing out that if all of these did not come to maintain the freedom of Tara for their own race, who possessed it such a long time, he himself would give sureties to Brian for his submission to him, as he was not strong enough to fight him. "And indeed," added Maoilseachlainn, "it will be no greater shame for me not to defend Tara than it will be for the clanna Neill and for the host of Leath Cuinn in general." The ollamh went with this message to the nobles of Leath Cuinn, and he made known to them the object of his journey and his mission. But Aodh O'Neill's answer to him was, "When the Cineal Eoghain possessed Tara," said he, "they defended it themselves, and let him who holds it now stand out for its freedom;" and he added that he would not set the Dal gCais at enmity with him by defending a sovereignty for another. The ollamh came back to Maoilseachlainn and repeated Aodh O'Neill's answer to him. However, Maoilseachlainn went himself to Aodh and entreated him to go with him to do battle against the Dal gCais, and he said to him, "Hold Tara for thyself," said he, "and I will give thee hostages for the delivering up to thee of Tara, for I prefer this to Brian's having it. But if thou wilt not come with me I must submit to Brian, as I am not strong enough to fight him."

Aodh O'Neill assembled and brought together to one place to him the Cineal Eoghain, and told them of Maoilseachlainn's visit to their country and of the offers he had made himself, on condition of his going with him to fight Brian and the Dal gCais. The Cineal Eoghain made answer, and said there was nothing but deceit in Maoilseachlainn's promise to him, "for he is certain that himself is older and better than thou art, and hence that thou would'st not

féin feadó a pé. Siúeadó," ar rias, "do baó maic lair  
 3955 rinne ir tura do úil lair do fpeartal éada uó i n-aíadú  
 "Óál gCair." Cairir rin do páid doó mú uil do éinneadó  
 cómairle eatoirra féin fán gcúir rin, agus fpeasra  
 maic do éadair ar Maoilreaclainn, "ionnur," ar ré,  
 "nac buó uorcad flaitir uúinn a éurag éugainn." Do  
 3960 éuadair iomorro Cinéal Eogain i gcoirir ir i gcoirle  
 eatoirra féin fán gcúir rin, agus ir ead do mearad leo dá  
 uetúir féin do éur éada i n-aíadú "Óál gCair, nar éoráil  
 a beag uíob do éillead tar a n-air ón gcaitúad roin. Ar  
 an adair roin adairadair nar bfulair leo roirar u'fagáil  
 3965 da gclonn tar a n-éir. "Óir ní baó ar rúil-ne pé roirar  
 ná pé roiradair roiradair féin," ar rias, "da nveacmaoir  
 do éitúad pé "Óál gCair .i. an cine ir crióda agus ir calma  
 i gcaitúad, agus an cine fór nar éit pé loclonnad  
 maic; ir uéirín nac teitúir roiradair-ne aet mar rin."  
 3970 Uime rin ir i cómairle ar ar cinneadó leo leat na mío ir  
 fearadair na Teairac u'fagáil ó Maoilreaclainn uóib féin  
 ir da rlióet 'n-a noirad, tré éadé lair ran gcomóad rin,  
 agus noirad do Maoilreaclainn gurab i rin cómairle ar  
 ar éinnirad. Ar n-a élor rin do Maoilreaclainn gabair  
 3975 fearg mór é, agus do iméir uad fá uíomadair da éir, agus  
 cuirir cuinnuad ar éloinn Éolmáin éirge, ir innirir  
 fpeasra doó Uí Néill ir Éinéil Eogain uóib.

Aet éada ir i cómairle do rónrad uime rin, Maoil-  
 reaclainn do uil ar a aigad go teac éirad, mar a raide  
 3980 a forlongroir i uTeairadair pé mí roirad rin, agus fir  
 mío ag a baad ann. Tualair iomorro Maoilreac-  
 lainn go Teairadair agus dá éad ir dá fíer marcad 'n-a  
 fíerad, gur éirir ar raicé na Teairac amirad rin, agus  
 téir do láirad gan éor gan cómairle go teac éirad ar



demand the kingdom of Ireland from him during his life. But," they added, "he would like that we and thou should go with him to fight the Dal gCais." Nevertheless Aodh asked them to take counsel amongst themselves on that question, and to give a favourable answer to Maoilseachlainn, "lest," he added, "his visit to us may not mean the loss of a kingdom to us." Then the Cineal Eoghain secretly took counsel and deliberated amongst themselves on this question, and it was their opinion that if they went to fight the Dal gCais it was not likely that even a small number of them would return from that conflict. For this reason they declared that it would be necessary for them to obtain property for their children after them, "for we should have hope neither of property nor of wealth for ourselves," added they, "if we were to go and fight the Dal gCais, the bravest and stoutest race in fields of battle, and a race, too, that never fled from the Lochlonnaigh; it is certain that neither would they flee from us." Therefore they came to the resolution of demanding from Maoilseachlainn one half of Midhe and of the demesne of Tara for themselves and for their children after them in consideration of their going with him on that expedition, and they made known to Maoilseachlainn that this was what they had resolved on. When Maoilseachlainn heard this he became furious and returned home from them with indignation, and summoned to him the clann Colmain and made known to them the answer he had got from Aodh O Neill and the Cineal Eoghain.

Upon this the resolution they came to was that Maoilseachlainn should go straight to Brian's house, where his camp had been fixed for a month previously at Tara, the men of Meath supporting him there. Maoilseachlainn then proceeded to Tara accompanied by two hundred and twenty horsemen, and thus alighted on the green of Tara, and went immediately to Brian's house



3985 oinead brian féin i' Dál gCair, i' vo innir a rceala ó  
 túr go veirlead vo brian, agus, aubhairt ná mbeir féin  
 ionbhuilte ré brian go maó cat vo-béarad vó. Agus ó  
 nac maibe sup vo tabhairt braidhe i' giall vó éainis an  
 triat roin. Ar n-a élor rin vo brian i' ead aubhairt, "Ó  
 3990 éangair im éad-ra gan cori gan comairce vo-beirum cairve  
 bliadna úit gan géill ná braidhe v'iairaid oir, agus  
 maó-ra féin v'fior na vruinge rin buó éuad .i. doó Ó  
 Néill i' Eodad mac Ardgail ní ulaó go bfeairinn gá  
 ffeadha vo-béarad oim; agus maó cat vo-béarad vaim,  
 3995 ná cuir-re im aghad leo. Feallair Maoilreadlainn ná  
 cuirfead, agus aubhairt nar b'i a comairle féin vo brian  
 uil buó éuad an triat roin, aet sup b'feairi vó triall  
 va éis go ham oile, "óir i' lóir uir mipe vo giall uir  
 von tuar-ro." Vo cinnead ar an gcomairle rin leo,  
 4000 agus fá maí lé Dál gCair é, vo briú go maó-  
 nveirlead a lóir vo éiteam; agus ar mbeir ag tillead  
 tar a air vo brian vo bionn ré ná fíctio véas ead vo  
 Maoilreadlainn, mar don ré hiomad óir i' aighio vo  
 vóil va muinntir.

4005 1 gcionn bliadna iar rin vo cruinnigead i' vo com-  
 tionóilead mórfhuaí leir Moza uile vuir gaeúealaid i'  
 Loélonnaid lé brian mac Cinnéirí. Éangad an loé-  
 lonnaid áta Claid i' púirt lairge, loéa farman i' Ó  
 neadad Muhan, Corca Luighead i' Uib gCinnrealdais;  
 4010 agus triallair brian leir an mórfhuaí roin go héd  
 luain, go vtugadair uairle Connaet braidhe uata fá beir  
 uimad mar aighiois vó.

Cuirir iomorro brian teadta go Maoilreadlainn va  
 iairaid air braidhe vo éur éuige go héd luain i' éainis  
 4015 Maoilreadlainn féin vo tabhairt giall i' braidhe vó. I'  
 an rin éana vo rónad mórfhuaí fear Muhan i' Connaet

without either surety or protection, relying on the generosity of Brian himself and of the Dal gCais; and he told Brian all that had befallen him from beginning to end, and said that if he himself were able to fight Brian, battle was what he would give him; but as he was not, he had come now to give him sureties and hostages. When Brian heard this he said, "Since thou hast come into my house without surety or protection I grant thee a year's respite, during which I shall demand neither sureties nor hostages from thee, and I will go myself to visit these northerns, to wit, Aodh O'Neill and Eochaidh, son of Ardghal, king of Ulster, that I may learn what answer they will give me; and if they give me battle then do thou not go against me with them." Maoilseachlainn promised that he would not go against him, and said that he would not advise Brian to go northwards on that occasion, but that he had better repair to his house until another time, "for my doing homage to thee is enough for thee this time." They agreed on this point, and the Dal gCais were glad of it, for they had nearly consumed their provisions; and as Brian was returning home he bestowed twelve hundred horses on Maoilseachlainn, and gave a large amount of gold and silver to his followers as well.

A year after this, Brian son of Cinneide, assembled and brought together the general forces of all Leath Mogha both Gaels and Lochlonnaigh. There came there the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath and of Port Lairge, of Loch Garman, of Ui Eachach Mumhan, Corca Luighdheach, and Ui Cinnsealaigh, and Brian proceeded with this great host to Ath Luain, and the nobles of Connaught gave hostages for their submission to him as high king.

Now Brian sent envoys to Maoilseachlainn asking him to send hostages to him to Ath Luain, and Maoilseachlainn himself came and gave him hostages and sureties. It was then that Brian brought together the main forces of



ir laigean ir fear mhúe lé bhian, agus téim leo  
 Dún Dealgan, gur gabadú gialla ir briaíge uilad  
 leir. Agus ir mar rin vo gab bhian bópaime mío  
 4020 Éireann lé calmaét ir lé crioáct a gníom goile  
 gaircú, as ionnarbaú eactmann ir vanar ar an gc  
 agus ní go cealgaé amail aveyro vpono oile. Ói  
 hé an mac i n-ait an aetar fá gnáct as gabáil flaité  
 Éireann, mar ir follur ar an rtair anuar go mó ro,  
 4025 an tí fá mó oirbeart ir ariactar gníom, ir vó vo lé  
 flaitéar Éireann. Agus vo briaí gupab é bhian fá  
 oirbeart 'n-a airtir féin v'Éireanncaib vo toga  
 umhór uairle Éireann pé ceannar na críche vo gabáil  
 agus an méro vóib nar aontuig flaitéar Éireann  
 4030 roctainn, fá héigean vóib giall va n-aimdeoin vó, agus  
 héigean vo maiolreáclainn flaitéar Éireann vo éreig  
 ir a léigean vo bhian, amail aoubriamari.

## XXV.

Vo gab bhian bópaime mac Cinnéivú mic Lorcáin  
 Láetna mic Cuirc mic Annluain mic Macgáimna mic To  
 4035 dealdaiú mic Caatáil mic Aoda Caoim mic Conaill  
 Eocáé baillveirg mic Carreáinn Finn mic Bliro mic  
 mic Conaill Eacéluait mic Luigéad Meinn mic Dong  
 Tíuú mic Fír Cuirb mic Moza Corb mic Cormaic Cair  
 Oiliolla Óluim vo fiol Éibir míoáct Éireann vó bliad  
 4040 vóas. Béibionn ingean Aréaú mic Muréaú mic M.  
 aig, ní iartair Connaét, máctair bhian. As go mar tá  
 Béibionn. Cianós ingean Cioctáim vo Connaécaib  
 mac ir ingean vo éoiréad vo laigrib nar b'ainm Cu



Munster, of Connaught, and of Leinster, and of Meath, and he went with them to Dun Dealgan where he received the hostages and sureties of all Ulster. And it was in this way that Brian Boraimhe obtained the kingdom of Ireland, by the strength and bravery of his feats of valour and championship, driving the foreigners and the Danair out of the country, and not by treachery as others assert. For it was not the custom in Ireland that the son should succeed the father in the sovereignty of Ireland, as is plain from the history up to this point, but the sovereignty of Ireland was given to him who was the most powerful in action and exploit. And since Brian was the most powerful in action of the Irish in his own time, the majority of the nobles of Ireland chose him to be sovereign of the country, and as many of them as did not consent that the sovereignty of Ireland should be given to him were forced to submit to him against their will, and Maoilseachlainn was obliged to abandon the sovereignty of Ireland and cede it to Brian as we have said.

## XXV.

Brian Boraimhe, son of Cinneide, son of Lorcan, son of Lachtna, son of Corc, son of Annluan, son of Mathgamhain, son of Toirrdhealbhach, son of Cathal, son of Aodh Caomh, son of Conall, son of Eochaidh Bailldhearg, son of Carrthann Fionn, son of Blod, son of Cas, son of Conall Eachluaith, son of Lughaidh Meann, son of Aonghus Tireach, son of Fear Corb, son of Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, son of Oilill Olom, of the race of Eibhear, held the sovereignty of Ireland twelve years. Beibhionn, daughter of Archaidh, son of Murchadh, son of Maonach, king of West Connaught, was the mother of Brian. The descent of Beibhionn was as follows: Cianog, daughter of Ciocharan, a Connaughtman, bore a son and daughter to a Leinster chief called

tré gurde Caimill abbaó ir feaét gcéad manac map don  
 4045 iur, as comgure De o'iaipiaó pleacta von lánamain rin  
 vo bí fearc i b'rao va n-aimeir, gur éirt Dia gurde Caimill  
 ir a' comtionóil, go ius Cianós mac ir ingean vo émaéan.  
 Maoilmeaó ainm an mic ir O'raó ainm na hingine; agus  
 vo póraó an ingean lé h'apcaó mac Mupcaó mic Maonaig  
 4050 pí iapcair Connaét, agus ius pí béibionn vó .i. mácair  
 b'pian b'paimie mic Cinnéioir.

Ir i b'laitear b'pian vo pinneao na gníoma-ro rior  
 .i. Sitric mac Amhlaoib vo vól vo déanam cpeac i nulltaib  
 i luingear móir, gur h'aigneao leir Cill Cleite ir Inir  
 4055 Cumrcaig, go vus iomaó b'paigne ir maoina arca. Va  
 éir rin fuair Naomán mac Maoileiairín p'pímeaio  
 éipeann báir agus Raígnall mac Goíraó mic Aiaile pí  
 na n'pneao vo loélonnaib. Ir fán am-ro vo éuaio b'pian  
 b'paimie mac Cinnéioir pí éipeann go pluag lionmair  
 4060 map don iur go Cinéal Eogain i nulltaib, agus ar rin  
 von m'ioe, go p'p'aoar oioé i v'tailltin, ar rin go h'ap  
 Maéa, go p'p'aoar feaétmain ann, gur f'p'gaib b'pian  
 píce uinge v'óir ar altóir ap Maéa.

Triallao ar rin i nDál na'p'ioe go b'fuair b'pian  
 4065 up'p'ioe pé comall píoa ó éuigeao ulaó uile. Go g'p'oo  
 va éir rin vo éuaio b'pian móir'p'laag oile i gCinéal  
 nEogain ir i v'tir Conaill go vus iomaó b'paigne uaca  
 i ngeall pé comall píoa.

Ir fán am-ro fuair Maolpuanuir mac Apogail pí  
 4070 ulaó báir, agus Cloéna mac Dongura p'p'p'ile éipeann  
 ir Caéal mac Conéubair vo bí 'n-a píg Connaét píce  
 bliaóan go b'fuair báir i n'loppar Domnann. Va éir rin  
 vo éuaio Mupcaó mac b'pian go b'p'p'p'p' m'pian ir



Criachan through the prayer of Caireall, abbot, and of seven hundred monks with him, who prayed together to God that this couple who were barren a long period of their time may have progeny, and God heard the prayer of Caireall and of his community, and Cianog bore a son and daughter to Criachan. The son's name was Maoil-mithidh and the daughter's name was Osnadh,; and the daughter was given in marriage to Archaidh, son of Murchadh, son of Maonach, king of West Connaught, and she bore him Beibhionn, that is the mother of Brian Boraimhe, son of Cinneide.

It was in the reign of Brian that the following events took place, to wit, Sitric, son of Amhlaoibh, went to spoil Ulster in a large fleet, and he plundered Cill Chleite and Inis Cumhsraigh and took many sureties and much wealth therefrom. After this Naomhan, son of Maoilciarain, chief artificer of Ireland, and Ragnall, son of Gothfraidh, son of Aralt, king of the Isles, a Lochlonnach, died. It was about this time that Brian Boraimhe, son of Cinneide, king of Ireland, went with a numerous host to Cineal Eoghain in Ulster and thence to Meath, and they remained a night at Tailte, thence they went to Ard Macha, and remained there a week, and Brian left twenty ounces of gold on the altar of Ard Macha.

They proceeded thence to Dal nAruidhe, and Brian got sureties for the keeping of peace from the entire province of Ulster. Soon after this Brian went with another large host to Cineal Eoghain and Tir Chonaill and brought many hostages thence as sureties for maintaining peace.

It was about this time that Maolruanuidh, son of Ardghal, king of Ulster, died, also Clothna, son of Aonghus, chief poet of Ireland, and Cathal, son of Conchubhar, who was king of Connaught twenty years, and he died in Iorras Domhnann. After this Murchadh, son of Brian,



Laiḡean iṛ uib néill an veirceirte aḡur flaitḡearptaḡ mac  
 4075 muirceadúḡ ḡo n-ḡḡaib an foḡla mar don iur v'arḡain  
 iṛ vo cṛeacáḡ éiméil luiḡḡeac ḡo vṛuḡṛaḡ tṛí céaḡ i  
 mbṛaiḡḡeanaṛ aṛ.

Sluaḡaḡ lé ḡṛian mac Cinnéiríḡ ní éiréann ḡo maḡ  
 Coriann ḡo vṛuḡ leir maolṛuanuṛ ó maolṛoṛiaḡ ní  
 4080 éiméil ḡConaill i mbṛaiḡḡeanaṛ ḡo Ceann éṛaḡ. Vo  
 cṛeacáḡ iṛ vo loirceáḡ Cúḡeaḡ Laiḡean ḡo ḡleann vá  
 loḡ, aḡur aṛ rin ḡo Cill maiḡniann, lé murcáḡ mac  
 ḡṛian. Iṛ rán am-ro vo éuaḡaṛ loḡlonnaḡ cablaḡ móṛ  
 von múmáin ḡur haiṛḡeaḡ iṛ ḡur loirceáḡ Corcaḡ leo;  
 4085 aḡur vo vóḡḡail Dia rin oṛṛa, óṛi vo maṛbaḡ amlaoib  
 mac Siṛeaca, ní na loḡlonnaḡ, iṛ maḡḡamain mac Dub-  
 ḡaill mic amlaoib lé Caḡal mac Doimnaill mic Duib  
 vá ḡuiréann i ḡṛeall ḡo ḡṛoḡ 'n-a vóiaḡ rin. Va éir rin  
 vo éuaḡaṛ loḡlonnaḡ iṛ Laiḡin i Múe, ḡur haiṛḡeaḡ  
 4090 Teairmonn Feicín leo, aḡur ḡo iurḡaḡ iomaḡ vo ḡṛaiḡoib  
 aṛ, ḡo nṛeapna Dia vóḡḡaltaṛ oṛṛa ḡo ḡṛoḡ va éir rin,  
 mar iṛ follur roimáinn aṛ an iuaḡ tuḡ murcáḡ mac  
 ḡṛian fá Laiḡuib mar aṛ loirceáḡ Laiḡin iṛ loḡlonnaḡ  
 leir, amail aḡubṛamaṛ.

4095 Vála ḡṛian mic Cinnéiríḡ, aṛ mbeir 'n-a riḡ éiréann  
 vó, iṛ iar vṛṛaḡaḡ loḡlonnaḡ leir, iṛ lánmóṛ na com-  
 maime vo éuir aṛ éṛiunn, amail léaḡṛaṛ i leaḡṛaib an  
 tṛeancúṛa. Aḡ ro ríor ḡo cumair cur vo na commaoimḡ  
 céaḡna:

4100 Aṛ vṛúṛ vo haḡnuaiḡeac iṛ vo tóḡbaḡ eaḡailṛe leir,  
 aḡur tuḡ a éill féin va ḡaḡ cléiréac vo méiṛ a céime iṛ  
 a céirṛ uirre. Vo tóḡaib iṛ vo oṛṛuigḡ ṛcola coitcéanna  
 ré múnáḡ léiḡinn iṛ na n-ealaḡan aṛ céana; aḡur fór tuḡ  
 luac leaḡaṛ iṛ coṛṛaṛ va ḡaḡ don, aḡ naḡ ṛaibe coṛṛaṛ,  
 4105 vo tóḡṛaḡ leannáin aṛ léiḡeann. Tuḡ fór ṛaḡirre va

with the men of Munster and Leinster and the Ui Neill of the south, and Flaithbheartach, son of Muireadhach, with the young men of the Fochla went to plunder and spoil Cineal Luigdheach and brought thence three hundred in captivity.

Brian, son of Cinneide, king of Ireland, made a hosting to Magh Corainn and brought with him Maolruanuidh O Maoldoraidh, king of Cineal Conaill, to Ceann Choradh in captivity. Murchadh son of Brian spoiled and burned the province of Leinster as far as Gleann da Loch, and thence to Cill Mhaighnionn. It was about this time that the Lochlonnaigh with a large fleet went to Munster and plundered and burned Cork; and God requited them for this, for Amhlaoibh, son of Sitric, king of the Lochlonnaigh, and Mathghamhain, son of Dubhghall, son of Amhlaoibh, were treacherously slain by Cathal, son of Dombnall, son of Dubh da Bhuireann, soon afterwards. After this the Lochlonnaigh and the Leinstermen went into Meath, and they plundered Tearmonn Feichin and took thence many captives, and God took vengeance upon them soon afterwards, as is plain from the above account of the incursion which Murchadh, son of Brian, made into Leinster, in which he spoiled the Leinstermen and the Lochlonnaigh, as we have said.

As to Brian, son of Cinneide, when he was king of Ireland and had crippled the Lochlonnaigh, very great were the benefits he conferred on Ireland as we read in the books of the seanchus. Here follow briefly some of these benefits.

In the first place he restored and built churches, and gave every cleric his own temple according to his rank and his right to it. He built and set in order public schools for the teaching of letters and the sciences in general, and he also gave the price of books and expenses to each one who could not defray the expenses and who desired to devote himself to learning. He



urigeapnaibh ír na bflaíobh fearainn; ír gac éadail páinís  
ó loélonnaibh é, vo bponn vo gaebealaibh í; agur gac  
uaoirre va paibe ar gaebealaibh ag loélonnaibh, vo tógab  
brian vob uile í; agur gac fearainn var bean brian  
4110 amac vo loélonnaibh lé neart a láime, ní v'aon va cine  
féin tug é, aét tug gac cpioé va gac cine var dual í i  
néirinn.

Ír é brian fóir tug fionnte fá feac ar fearaibh  
éireann ar a n-aiteantairi gac filtreab fá feac vob.  
4115 Ír lé brian mar an gcéona vo tógab teampull éille  
Dálua ír teampull Inre Cealltraé agur vo hacnuaró-  
eas cloicteas Tuama Spéine. Vo tógab iomoirio lé  
brian iomao vpoiceas ír tócar ír pligte móra, ír vo  
cumhuigeas ír vo cóirugeas vuinte ír vaingne ír inreab  
4120 ír oiléin leir. Vo cumhuigeas leir fóir Cairéal na Ríog,  
ír Ceann Abrao, Inir Loéa Cé ír Inir Loéa Saip, Dún  
Eoéairi Máiige, Dún Iarc, ír Dún Trí Liag, Dún gCiot  
ír Dún Cliaé, Inre an Gaill Duib, ír Inir Loéa Saig-  
lionn, Rof na Ríog, Ceann Cópas an Bórame, ír píos-  
4125 puit Muman ar ceana. Ír i bflaítear brian iomoirio  
táinís doimbean 'n-a haonar ó Tuinn Tuairé go Tuinn  
Clionna éar, agur fail nó fáinne óir ar flait pé a hair  
aice; agur ní bfuair a flao ná a párugeas tré gáire  
rmaéta brian ar éirinn; gonaó uime rin vo punne an  
4130 file an pann-ro:

Ó tóruó go Clionna éar,  
ír fail óir aice pé a hair,  
i bflait brian éaoibgil nar éim,  
vo éiméil doimbean éirinn.

4135 Vo bí éire amlaíó rin go raibíri pona ríotéanta ar  
feas an v'a bliabán véas vo bí brian 'n-a piú uirre;  
gonaó vó mo éan an file an pann-ro:

riuáó fairrige, tuile tric,  
brian breas ór banba bláitbuc,  
4140 san éamhairi san béo san brat,  
va bliabán véas a véas-pat.



also gave freedom to the lords and territorial chiefs of the people ; and all the spoil he had taken from the Lochlonnaigh he gave to the Gaels, and he freed all the Gaels from every species of oppression to which the Lochlonnaigh subjected them ; and every territory which he took from the Lochlonnaigh by the strength of his arm, he gave it not to any of his own tribe, but gave each territory to the tribe in Ireland to whom it belonged of right.

It was Brian, too, who gave the men of Ireland distinct surnames by which each separate sept of them is distinguished from the rest. It was Brian also who built the church of Cill Dalua and the church of Inis Cealltrach, and restored the tower of Tuaim Greine. Moreover, Brian built many bridges and causeways and highways, and he built and repaired duns and fortresses and river banks and islands. He also built Cashel of the Kings and Ceann Abhrad, Inis Locha Ce and Inis Locha Gair, Dun Eochair Mhaighe, Dun Iasc and Dun Tri Liag, Dun gCrot and Dun Cliach, Inse an Ghaill Duibh and Inis Locha Saighlionn, Ros na Riogh, Ceann Choradh na Bhoraimhe, and the royal fortresses of Munster generally. It was also in the reign of Brian that a lone lady travelled from Tonn Tuaidhe to Tonn Cliodhna in the south, carrying with her a wand with a gold circlet or ring on it, and she was neither robbed nor violated, by reason of the rigour of Brian's rule in Ireland ; and hence the poet composed this stanza :

From Toruidh to pleasant Cliodhna,  
Having a circlet of gold by her side,  
In the reign of bright-limbed, intrepid Brian,  
A lone lady went round Erin.

Ireland was thus rich, prosperous, peaceful during the twelve years that Brian reigned over her, and for him the poet composed this stanza :

The boiling of the sea, a rapid flood,  
Was Brian of Breagha over Banbha of variegated flowers,  
Without sadness, without calumny, without suspicion,  
Twelve years lasted his prosperity.

Iy ururá a aítne ar an tceirt-re vo-beirio na rean-  
 éaride ar brian narí ólígéad anflait vo gairm úe, óir ní  
 vo péir a éirle nó a neirt vo junne follamnuḡaḡ na  
 4145 críce mé linn beir 1 bflaitear vó, aét vo péir reácta iy  
 ólígíḡ na críce. Óir iy é iy anflait ann an tí vo-ní  
 follamnuḡaḡ nó maḡluḡaḡ vo péir neirt iy ní vo péir  
 éirir; aḡur ó naé mar rin vo junne brian, aét vo péir  
 éirir iy reácta, ní hiontuḡaḡ anflait air.

4150 Nó ma' r tré éaét fá bráḡair Maoilfeaclainn 1  
 bflaitear na críce ar éḡa urmóir uairle éiréann vo  
 gairiríde anflait úe, réaéaḡ an léaḡtóir cia cóir anflait  
 vo gairm úe ionáir anflait vo gairm v'urmóir a tóiríḡ  
 vo míoḡaib éiréann vo élanḡaib mileaḡ. Óir ní tóiríḡ  
 4155 an reáctmaḡ fear vior naé é marbáḡ an míoḡ míoḡe vo  
 vóanaḡ; aḡur ó naé gairmtear anflait vior, vo bríḡ  
 ḡo tóiríḡaḡar von fuil míoḡaḡ, tré marbáḡ na míoḡ  
 tóiríḡ míoḡaḡ, mar an ḡeáona, ar mbeir vo brian von  
 fuil míoḡaḡ, ní hiontuḡaḡ anflait air tré éaét fá  
 4160 bráḡair Maoilfeaclainn, iy naéar marb é, aḡur é ar a  
 émar, aḡail vo-níoir cáé iur na míoḡaib vo bíó míoḡaḡ  
 1 bflaitear éiréann, aḡail avubriamar.

Aḡ ro ríor an éioréain iy an ceair vo bíó aḡ brian  
 bóiríde ar éiréaḡaib éiréann leaé amuḡ von muḡain  
 4165 mé coḡaḡaḡ éiré éinn éoraḡ, aḡail éirítear ríor lé mac  
 liaḡ arvolam éiréann ran vuar vuar toraé: bóiríde  
 baile na míoḡ. Ar vóir vo-ḡeiréaḡ ó éiréaḡ éonnaét  
 oét ḡeáaḡ bó iy oét ḡeáaḡ toraé. Vo-ḡeiréaḡ ó éir  
 éonail éiréaḡaḡ briaḡ iy éiréaḡaḡ bó; vo-ḡeiréaḡ ó  
 4170 éir éoraḡaḡ tré ríor bó iy tré ríor muc iy tré ríor  
 tinne iaraḡaḡ; vo-ḡeiréaḡ ó élanḡaib Ruḡuḡe Ulaḡ tré  
 éoraḡaḡ bó iy tré éoraḡaḡ toraé; vo-ḡeiréaḡ oét ḡeáaḡ bó



It is very easy to see from this character which the seanchas give of Brian that it would not be right to call him a tyrant, for it was not according to his will or his strength that he governed the country during his reign, but according to the country's constitution and law. For a tyrant is one who governs and rules according to might and not according to right; and since it was not thus Brian acted, but according to right and the constitution, he cannot be called a tyrant.

Or if he should be called a tyrant (usurper) for supplanting Maoilseachlainn in the sovereignty of the country, having been chosen by the majority of the Irish nobles, let the reader judge whether it be more just to call him a tyrant (usurper) than to call the majority of the kings of Ireland who sprang from the children of Milidh tyrants (usurpers). For not one in every seven of them gained the sovereignty who did not do so by killing the king who came before him; and since they are not called tyrants (usurpers), being of the royal blood, for killing the king who came before them, in the same way, since Brian was of the royal blood he should not be called a tyrant (usurper) for having supplanted Maoilseachlainn, whom, though he was in his power, he did not kill, as other kings killed those who came before them in the sovereignty of Ireland, as we have said.

Here follow the tribute and dues that Brian Boraimhe claimed from the provincial kings of Ireland outside of Munster for the upkeep of the house of Ceann Choradh as stated by Mac Liag, chief ollamh of Ireland, in the poem which begins: Boraimhe town of the kings. In the first place he got from the province of Connaught eight hundred cows and eight hundred hogs; he got from Tir Chonaill five hundred mantles and five hundred cows; he got from Tir Eoghain three score cows and three score pigs and three score bars of iron; he got from the clann Rudhruighe of Ulster thrice fifty cows and thrice fifty hogs; he got



a hOirgiallaib; trí céad torc, trí céad mart ir trí céad  
 tinne iarainn ó Cúigeaó Laidhean; trí píeto bó, trí píeto  
 4175 muc ir trí píeto tinne iarainn ó Oirruigib; do-geirbeaó ó  
 Loélonnaib Áta Cliaé trí éaoza daðac fíona; ir do-  
 geirbeaó ó Loélonnaib Luimniú tonna o'fion veapz zac  
 don lá ran mbliadain. Agus an tan do fúirbeaó brian  
 n-a fúirbeaó mios ir é ní muman do fúirbeaó ar a veapláim,  
 4180 amail fá gnát iur zac níú o'fúil éirbeaóin miosza ulaó  
 do cup ar a nveapláim. Ní lámhaó neac o'feaplaib éirbeann  
 aym o'ioméar i vteac brian aét dól zcair amáin, amail  
 aveir an duain réamháirte ran rann-ro:

San doimfeap o'feaplaib éirbeann,  
 aét dól zcair na zcairéirbeann,  
 do lámhaétain a n-aym ann  
 i n-éintiz ré níú éirbeann.

Ir iontuigíte ar méir an feolmaiz ir an fíona do bí  
 o'áiríte ré cotuzaó teaglaiz tige Cinn Cópao, leat amuiz  
 4190 do Cópmae mac airt ir do Cónaie mór mac Eirbeirceoil,  
 naé raibe do mioszaib éirbeann doimí do ba mó muirfeap ir  
 muinntear ir ba flaitéamla do tigeapac ioná brian.

Ar mbeir do brian bōmáie san impeapan san ear-  
 donta 'n-a comnuirte i zceann Cópao aétuimzír ar níú  
 4195 Laidhean .i. Maolmóirua mac Muiréada trí feolépaínn  
 o'fírobaó áluinn a Fíor zaihle do cup éirge. Do beanaó  
 na trí feolépaínn lé níú Laidhean ir triallair féin leo zo  
 Ceann Cópao, mar a raibe brian an triat roin; ir tuz fá  
 veapa ar uib fáilge feolépaínn oíob o'ioméar agus feol-  
 4200 épaínn oile ar uib faoláin agus an tpeap feolépaínn ar  
 uib Muiréadaiz, zo vcapla iomairbáir éainnte eastorpa ag  
 vól i n-agaíó sléirbe an bogaz; agus leir rin téir ní  
 Laidhean féin fá feolépaínn O bfaoláin agus ionar ríóill

eight hundred cows from Oirghialla; three hundred hogs, three hundred beeves and three hundred bars of iron from the province of Leinster; three score cows, three score pigs and three score bars of iron from Osruighe; he got from the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath thrice fifty vats of wine; and he got from the Lochlonnaigh of Luimneach a tun of red wine every day in the year. And when Brian sat in his royal seat it was the king of Munster that sat at his right hand, just as it was customary with all the kings of the race of Eireamhon to place the kings of Ulster at their right hand. None of the men of Ireland were permitted to bear arms in Brian's house, but the Dal gCais alone as the above-mentioned poem says in this stanza:

None of the men of Erin,  
Only the Dal gCais of battle triumphs,  
Were permitted to use their arms there  
In the same house with the king of Erin.

It is to be inferred from the amount of meat and wine that was fixed for the support of the household of the court of Ceann Choradh, that with the exception of Cormac son of Art, and Conaire Mor son of Eideirsceol, there was none among the kings of Ireland who had a larger household and more followers and who kept up a more princely house than Brian.

When Brian Boraimhe was residing at Ceann Choradh without strife or discord he besought the king of Leinster, Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, to send him three masts of excellent wood from Fiodh Gaibhle. The king of Leinster had the masts cut down and went with them himself to Ceann Choradh where Brian then was; and he ordered the Ui Failghe to carry one of the masts and the Ui Faolain another and the Ui Muireadhaigh the third, and a war of words arose between them as they were going up Sliabh an Bhogaigh; and thereupon the king of Leinster himself put his shoulder under the mast assigned to the Ui Faolain, wearing a satin tunic which Brian had given



tugh bhuan nó mómie rin uime, agus corraíodh óir 'n-a  
 4205 éiméall, agus cnaipe aigeis ann. Agus lé méir an  
 feadma do cuirtear ní laigean ari féin rân reoláirann, do  
 bhuir an cnaipe do bí 'n-a bhuir; agus ari moctain dóibh go  
 Ceann Choraó, cuirtear ní laigean a ionaí de ir tugh na ríair,  
 do Shormflait, inéin Múrcáda, .i. baincéile bhuan, an  
 4210 t-ionaí do curi cnaipe ann. Do glac an móir an t-ionaí  
 ir tugh uiríor de ran teimí do bí 'n-a ríadair, ir do gab  
 as iomáinead ari a dearbairtair tré beir fá moiraine ná  
 fá óairíre do neac ran uimán, "an ní," ari rí, "nár fáom  
 é'adair ná do feanadair"; ir do ráir go ríreab mac  
 4215 bhuan ari a mac an ní céana. Ait céana fá cuimín lé  
 Maolmóirí comrád na móir; agus tarla do Múrcáda mac  
 bhuan ir do Conaing mac Duinn Cuan beir as imirte ríre  
 ari n-a márac, nó do ríre óruinge oile ir é comóirí  
 Caoimhín Glinne dá loic do bí as imirte ríre Múrcáda.  
 4220 Gabair Maolmóirí .i. ní laigean as teagair ari Múrcáda  
 ir do teagair beir na ríreab cluic ari. "Ir tú tugh  
 comairle do loclonnair na bhuiríab óib 1 gac Glinne  
 mára," ari Múrcáda. "Ma tugair comairle dóib na  
 bhuiríab óib ann rin," ari Maolmóirí, "do-béar com-  
 4225 airle oile dóib ríre mbuirit ríreab óir-rá ari." "A ríre  
 rin ríreab," ari Múrcáda.

Fá ríreab Maolmóirí de rin, agus téir na ríre  
 leair, go na ríreab uiríab uiríab ran teac n-óla an oiríre  
 rin, ir do imirte 1 moir na maíre ari n-a márac gan  
 4230 céiríab do bhuan.

Ari n-a éiríomóirí do bhuan gur fáraib ní laigean  
 an longóir gan céiríab do féin, cuirtear ríreab ríreab  
 na muiríre na fáiríre go ríreab féin tuairíre ir  
 ríreab do. Ir ann ríreab an ríreab ari 1 ríreab éirí  
 4235 éiríle Dálra don leir éirí don ríreab agus é as



him sometime before, and which had gold borders to it and a silver clasp. And so greatly did the king of Leinster exert himself in bearing up the mast that the clasp of his tunic snapped; and when they reached Ceann Choradh the king of Leinster took off his tunic and gave it to his sister Gormfhlaith, daughter of Murchadh (that is Brian's wife), to fix a clasp in it. The queen took the tunic and cast it into the fire that was in front of her, and proceeded to reproach her brother for being in slavery or subjection to anyone on earth, "a thing," said she, "which neither thy father nor thy grandfather brooked;" and she added, that Brian's son would make the same demand of his son. Now Maolmordha kept in mind the queen's remarks; and the next day Murchadh, son of Brian, and Conaing, son of Donn Cuan, happened to be playing chess, or according to others it was the comhorba of Caoimhghin of Gleann da Loch that was playing with Murchadh. Maolmordha, the king of Leinster, set to instruct Murchadh, and taught him a move which caused the game to go against him. "It was thou who gavest advice to the Lochlonnaigh which caused them to be defeated at the Battle of Gleann Mama," said Murchadh. "If I gave them advice which caused them to be defeated there," said Maolmordha, "I will give them another advice through which they will defeat thee in turn." "I defy thee to do so," said Murchadh.

Maolmordha was enraged at this and he went to his sleeping apartment, and could not be got to come to the drinking hall that night, and he took his departure early the next morning without bidding farewell to Brian.

Now when Brian heard that the king of Leinster left the mansion without bidding him farewell, he sent a page of his household to detain him that he might give him wages and gifts. The place at which the page overtook him was at the end of the plank bridge of Cill Dalua on

toul ar a eac; i' noctair an gíolla a teactaireact ó  
 brian nó. Iompuidir Maolmóir a. ní laigean ar an  
 ngíolla i' buailir t'ní buille von t'plait, iobair vo bi  
 'n-a láim air, gur b'ur cnáma a éloiginn, gurab ar iom-  
 4240 éar mugaó go teac brian é. Cogairán ainm an gíolla,  
 agus i' uair atáir uí Cogairán ran Mumáin.

Vo fanntuigeaó lé fuirinn vo teaglac éinn córaó ní  
 laigean vo leanmáin, i' gan a léigean go laigib go  
 maó mairac vo brian é. Act éana vo ráir brian nac  
 4245 lámtaoi feall vo véanam 'n-a éig féin air. "Siúeaó,"  
 ar fé, "i' vo éolba a éig féin iarrfáiréar cóir air."

T'niallair Maolmóir a ní laigean va vútair féin i'  
 cuirir cuinnuigaó i' coimciónól ar máirib laigean  
 éirge, agus innirir vóib míocáir i' aitéir b'réirre v'fag-  
 4250 áil vó féin i' va éirgeaó uile i' gCeann Córaó. Uime  
 rin i' i' coimáirle ar ar cinneaó aca iompóó ar brian  
 iao féin i' neart loclonnae gur commóir cat éluana  
 Tarb eatorra; agus vo b'ig nar fágair brian lion  
 caea vo éur vo loclonnaib i' néirinn, act an vream va  
 4255 v'ug fulong beir ar feirb ceannairéacta i' náe Cliaé, i'  
 loe Garman, i' b'p'or lairge, i' gCoraig i' i' luimneaé, mé  
 tráet ceannairéacta vo éirraing ó éirib uile i' néirinn,  
 i' i' coimáirle ar ar cinneaó lé mé laigean i' lé loe-  
 lonnaib fíor vo éur go mé loclonn v'arrair neirt  
 4260 fluaig air mé f'earal caea vo brian ar maig nealta i'  
 gCluain Tarb. Agus ar móctain réal go mé loe-  
 lonn cuirir a v'iar mac Capolur Cnutur agus Anreap  
 mar don mé v'a míle véag vo fluaig loclonnae vo  
 éongnam mé mé laigean, vo éur caea éluana Tarb, agus  
 4265 ar móctain i' v'ir i' náe Cliaé vóib, vo éur ní laigean



the east side of the Sionainn, as he was mounting his steed, and he delivered to him the message Brian had sent him. Maolmordha, the king of Leinster, turned on the page and gave him three blows with the yew wand he held in his hand, so that he broke the bones of his skull, and it was in a litter that he was carried to Brian's house. The page's name was Cogaran and from him are the Ui Cogarain of Munster.

A party of the household of Ceann Choradh desired to pursue the king of Leinster and not to allow him to go to Leinster until he had submitted to Brian. Brian, however, said that it would not be permitted to practise treachery against him in his own house. "But," added he, "it is from the door-post of his own house that justice will be required of him."

Maolmordha, king of Leinster, went into his own country, and summoned and brought together to him the Leinster nobles, and told them that himself and all his province had been dishonoured and treated to abusive speech at Ceann Choradh. Accordingly what they agreed on was that they themselves and a Lochlonnach force should go against Brian, so that the Battle of Cluain Tarbh was set on foot between them; and since Brian had not left in Ireland as many of the Lochlonnaigh as could fight a battle, having left only the party he suffered, on the excuse of trading, to remain in Ath Cliath, in Loch Garman, in Port Lairge, in Corcach and in Luimneach, for the purpose of attracting commerce from other countries to Ireland, what the king of Leinster and the Lochlonnaigh decided on was to send to the king of Lochlonn for a force with which to meet Brian in battle on Magh nEalta at Cluain Tarbh. And when the message reached the king of Lochlonn he sent his two sons Carolus Cnutus and Andreas with a host of twelve thousand Lochlonnaigh to help the king of Leinster to fight the Battle of Cluain Tarbh, and when they landed at Ath Cliath the king of Leinster



reála go brian o'fógha cafa do cupi iur i gCluain  
Tarb.

Dála brian mic Cinnéiríó míog Eipeann, do com-  
tionóileadó neart Muman iur Connaét leir, agur triallair  
4270 go hÁt Cliaé pé cupi Áfa Cluana Tarb, amail aubhamari.  
Tángavar ann iomorro mari don iur rlióct Fiaéac Muill-  
eacain go n-a ngablaib geinealaig, triomfluaig cairpeac  
toiéarclac. Tángavar ann fóir clann Cair mic Conaill  
Eacluaic .i. Uí Blior iur Uí Cairin, iur clann Dongura Cinn  
4275 náépac, iur Cinéal mbaic iur Cinéal gCuallaictaig, Cinéal  
Failbe, iur clann Eacac um Ceallaé mac Duibhinn, iur clann  
Coilein um Meanman mac Eipioá mic Sióá mic Maol-  
cluice, iur Cinéal Fearmaic um Maolmeaó mac Baodáin.  
Tángavar ann fóir mic Cinnéiríó mic Lorcáin, Annluan,  
4280 Láctna, Corcpac, Lorcán, Seanacán, Ógán, Maolruanuir, iur  
Aingir, Mupéac mac brian iur a mac Toirpóealbac iur  
cúigeair deairbriácar Mupéac .i. Táog, Donnac, Domnall,  
Concubair iur Flann. Tángavar ann mari an gcéona  
clann Duinn Cuan mic Cinnéiríó .i. Longargán Céleacair  
4285 Cinnéiríe Fiangalac Innpeactac Eocair mac Innpeactaig iur  
Duibheann mac Eocac iur Beollán, iur ar lean oib-ro va  
n-aor gíaró iur va luét leanaína. Táinig ann fóir rluag  
móir o'fearaib Connaét um Táog mac Mupéac Uí Ceallaig  
rí Ua Maine agur um Maolruanuir na páirpe Ó Eirín rí  
4290 Eiríne, mari don pé móirán o'uairlib Connaét tré báir  
briáirpeacair pé brian, ar mbeir do Bébionn fá mácar  
óó 'n-a mnaoi Connaétaig. Tis mari an gcéona Maol-  
peaclainn mac Domnail go neart na Míve uime i noáil  
brian do congnaí lair.

4295 Agur ar móctain ar donlácar go Maig nealta úoir  
cuirto inneall iur oirugaó cafa oirra féin leat ar leat;

sent word to Brian to give notice that he would give him battle at Cluain Tarbh.

As to Brian, son of Cinneide, king of Ireland, he assembled the forces of Munster and Connaught and proceeded to Ath Cliath to fight the Battle of Cluain Tarbh, as we have said. And there went thither with him the race of Fiachaidh Muilleathan with their branches of descendants a great bulky stately host. Thither went also the descendants of Cas, son of Conall Eachluaith, to wit, the Ui Bloid and the Ui Caisin, and the descendants of Aonghus Chinn nAthrach, and the Cineal Baoth and the Cineal Cuallachtaigh, the Cineal Failbhe, and the clann Eachach under Ceallach, son of Duibhgheann, and the clann Choilein under Meanman, son of Eisidh, son of Sidh, son of Maolcluiche, and the Cineal Fearnhaic under Maolmeadha, son of Baodan. Thither went also the sons of Cinneide son of Lorcan, Annluan, Lachtna, Coscrach, Lorcan, Seanchan, Ogan, Maolruanuidh and Aingidh, Murchadh son of Brian, and his son Toirrdhealbhach and five brothers of Murchadh, to wit, Tadhg, Donnchadh, Domhnall, Conchubhar and Flann. Thither went in like manner the sons of Donn Cuan son of Cinneide, to wit, Longargan, Ceileachair, Cinneide, Fianghalach, Innreachtach, Eochaidh, son of Innreachtach, and Duibhgheann son of Eochaidh and Beallan and as many of the servants and followers of these as came with them. Thither also went a great host of Connaughtmen under Tadhg son of Murchadh O Ceallaigh, king of Ui Maine, and under Maolruanuidh na Paidre O Eidhin, king of Eidhin, with many of the Connaught nobles, through a feeling of kinship with Brian, for Beibhionn, his mother, was a Connaught-woman. In like manner Maoilseachlainn son of Domhnall, with the strength of Meath under him, went to meet Brian to help him.

And when they came together to one place on Magh nEalta they prepared and arranged themselves for battle



ní laigean i<sup>r</sup> loélonnais<sup>g</sup> vo leit, agus dá mac níos  
 loélonn, mar atá Capolur Cnutur i<sup>r</sup> Anrhear 'n-a  
 vtaoirfead<sup>aib</sup> oppa; brian go maicib<sup>h</sup> Muimneac, Connac<sup>t</sup>  
 4300 i<sup>r</sup> m<sup>i</sup>o<sup>e</sup> von leit oile, agus Murcá<sup>o</sup> mac brian 'n-a  
 t<sup>a</sup>oirfeac oppa, ac<sup>t</sup> amáin nar b'áil lé Maoilfeaclainn  
 congnam leo.

Feap<sup>t</sup>air an cat go cró<sup>o</sup>a eastoppa, i<sup>r</sup> b<sup>h</sup>irtear vo  
 loélonnais i<sup>r</sup> vo laignib<sup>h</sup>, gur tuiteadar dá mac  
 4305 níos loélonn i<sup>r</sup> uairle an éablaig táinig leo ann, mar  
 don pé pé míle i<sup>r</sup> feac<sup>t</sup> gcé<sup>o</sup> vo loélonnais. Vo tuit  
 ann fó<sup>r</sup> lu<sup>e</sup>t á<sup>t</sup>a Clia<sup>t</sup> i<sup>r</sup> vpon<sup>g</sup> oile vo loélonnais an  
 éablaig tuairim ceit<sup>h</sup>e míle ann. Vo tuit mar an gcé<sup>o</sup>na  
 ní laigean i<sup>r</sup> uphó<sup>r</sup> uairle laigean i<sup>r</sup> t<sup>h</sup>í míle i<sup>r</sup> cé<sup>o</sup> vo  
 4310 laignib<sup>h</sup> mar don m<sup>i</sup>ú.

Vo tuit éana von leit oile Murcá<sup>o</sup> mac brian  
 níos<sup>o</sup>am<sup>h</sup>na éireann i<sup>r</sup> uphó<sup>r</sup> uairle Muimneac i<sup>r</sup>  
 Connac<sup>t</sup> 'n-a tim<sup>h</sup>ceall mar don pé ceit<sup>h</sup>e míle fear.  
 Agus vpon<sup>g</sup> vo loélonnais va maib<sup>h</sup> ag teit<sup>h</sup>eo<sup>o</sup> ón  
 4315 á<sup>r</sup>ib<sup>h</sup>ac fán v<sup>t</sup>ir, tapla puball brian vóib<sup>h</sup> agus tug  
 vpon<sup>g</sup> vóib<sup>h</sup> ait<sup>h</sup>e gurab é brian vo b<sup>i</sup> ann, agus  
 t<sup>h</sup>uallair b<sup>h</sup>uadar a vtaoirfeac vo b<sup>i</sup> ar an mbu<sup>i</sup>oin  
 rin i noáil brian i<sup>r</sup> marb<sup>h</sup>ear leo é; agus marb<sup>h</sup>ear  
 eirean i<sup>r</sup> a muinnt<sup>h</sup>ear lé muinnt<sup>h</sup>ir brian. Ag fo fó<sup>r</sup>  
 4320 vpon<sup>g</sup> oile vo muinnt<sup>h</sup>ir brian vo marb<sup>h</sup>eo<sup>o</sup> fan ac<sup>t</sup> roin,  
 mar atá Toirp<sup>h</sup>éal<sup>h</sup>bac mac Murcá<sup>o</sup>a mic brian i<sup>r</sup> Conaig<sup>h</sup>  
 mac Duinn Cuan mic Cinnéio<sup>o</sup> i<sup>r</sup> Mo<sup>h</sup>la mac Do<sup>h</sup>naill  
 mic Faoláin ní na nDéire Mu<sup>h</sup>an, Eo<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>o</sup> mac Dúna<sup>o</sup>aig<sup>h</sup>  
 flait éloinne Scannláin i<sup>r</sup> M<sup>h</sup>all ua Cuinn i<sup>r</sup> Cú Doil<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>  
 4325 mac Cinnéio<sup>o</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>í caom<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>g</sup> brian, i<sup>r</sup> Ta<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup> mac Murcá<sup>o</sup>a  
 uí éallai<sup>g</sup> ní ua Maine, i<sup>r</sup> Maoilpuanuir na Paio<sup>h</sup>e Ó  
 hE<sup>h</sup>oin ní E<sup>h</sup>one, i<sup>r</sup> Féib<sup>h</sup>eanna<sup>h</sup>ac mac Duba<sup>h</sup>gáin ní b<sup>h</sup>ear  
 Muige, i<sup>r</sup> Mac bea<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>o</sup> mic Muir<sup>h</sup>eo<sup>o</sup>aig<sup>h</sup> élaoin ní Ciar<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>o</sup>e



on either side, the king of Leinster and the Lochlonnaigh on one side, the two sons of the king of Lochloinn, to wit, Carolus Cnutus and Andreas being their leaders; Brian with the nobles of Munster, Connaught and Meath on the other side, with Murchadh, son of Brian, as their leader. Maoilseachlainn, however, did not wish to help them.

The battle was bravely fought between them, and the Lochlonnaigh and the Leinstermen were defeated; and the two sons of the king of Lochloinn and the nobles of the fleet who came with them fell there, together with six thousand and seven hundred Lochlonnaigh. There also fell the men of Ath Cliath and another company of the Lochlonnaigh of the fleet about four thousand. In like manner fell the king of Leinster and most of the nobles of Leinster together with three thousand one hundred Leinstermen.

Now on the other side fell Murchadh, son of Brian, the heir apparent to the throne of Ireland, and the majority of the Munster and Connaught nobles around him together with four thousand men. And a party of Lochlonnaigh who were fleeing into the country from the slaughter came upon Brian's tent, and some of them knew that it was Brian who was in it, and Bruadar, their leader, who was of the party, went towards Brian, and they slew him, but Brian's people slew Bruadar and his people. Here follow other supporters of Brian who were slain in that battle, to wit, Toirrdhealbhach, son of Murchadh, son of Brian, and Conaing, son of Donn Cuan, son of Cinneide, and Mothla, son of Domhnall, son of Faolan, king of Deise Mumhan, Eochaidh son of Dunadhach, prince of the clann Scannlain and Niall Ua Cuinn, and Cu Doiligh son of Cinneide, three companions of Brian, and Tadhg, son of Murchadh O Ceallaigh, king of Ui Maine, and Maolruanuidh na Paidre O Heidhin, king of Eidhin, and Geibheannach, son of Dubhagan, king of Feara Muighe, and Mac Beathaidh, son of Muireadhach Claon, king of Ciarraidhe Luachra,

Lusáera, Dómnall mac Diarmada ní Corca baircinn,  
 4330 Scannlán mac Cateil ní Eoganaéda Loéa Léin, ír Dómnall  
 mac Éimhín mic Caimniú ír Mórímhaoir Mairr .i. Muireadúac  
 Mór na hAlban ír iomao u'uidirib oile nac áiríuigítear  
 annro. Doir an Tigearna an can tugad an cat-ro Éluana  
 Tarb 1034 bliadóna, an doine ría 5Cáirc. As ro vearbád  
 4335 an tfeanácú ar an áiríuigte bliadóna uo bí ó 5ein Érioirt 5o  
 báir brian :

Ceitne bliadóna tríoacú,  
 Ar míle gan meabail,  
 Ó uo fáir lúis uar 5cabaí,  
 5o báir brian i mbreagúib.

4340

Asur oét mbliadóna ír ceitne ríúo fá haoir uo brian an  
 can roin, aithéil aueir an ríle ran rann-ro :

Saogal brian 5o mbuadúib,  
 Sur an ngliaó 5o n5áirib,  
 4345 Ceitne ríúo bliadón  
 'Sa hoét iar n-a n-áiríuigte.

4345

Uo bí fáir Muireadú mac brian trí bliadóna ar trí ríúo an  
 can uo éuit ran cat-ro.

Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, king of Corca Baiscinn, Scannlan, son of Cathal, king of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, and Domhnall, son of Eimhin, son of Cainneach, and Mormhaor Marr, that is Muireadhach Mor of Alba, and many other nobles that are not mentioned here. The year of the Lord when the Battle of Cluain Tarbh was fought was 1034, the Friday before Easter. Here is the seancha's setting forth of the number of years that had elapsed from the birth of Christ to the death of Brian :

Four years and thirty,  
With a thousand without deceit,  
From the springing up of a Physician to help us  
To the death of Brian in Breagha.

And Brian's age at that time was eighty-eight years, as the poet says in this stanza :

The life of Brian with victories  
Up to the conflict with shouts,  
Four score years  
And eight are counted.

Moreover, Murchadh, son of Brian, was sixty-three years when he fell in this battle.



## XXVI.

Ar ntabairt iomorro cāta cluana tarb asur ar  
 4350 marbāó brian i r muraóa i r iomaó vo sáeóalaib mar  
 aon iú, asur iar mburaó vo loólonnaib i r vo laigrib  
 i r ar marbāó a n-urmbóir fan cāt roin, i r ar uriall vo  
 Óal sCair i r vo flioét fíacāc Muilleatāin, an méio  
 vo máir tar éir an cāta roin, tar a n-air so Mullac  
 4355 Mairtean, i r ann rin vo mōnrao flioét fíacāc fluaš  
 ar leir óioib féin, i r vo rcarrao ré Óal sCair, i r vo  
 cinneāó comairle aca, ó fpioé Óal sCair i n-uatāó fluaš  
 i r roóuóe, teatā vo éur so Donnāó mac brian, asur  
 géill o'iairraio air, asur a noótaó oó so raóara géill  
 4360 uatā-ran as a atair i r as bpatair a atair, asur aoub-  
 raóar supab oóib féin buó cóir piše Mumān sác ré  
 bfeacā. "Ní oá bair nveoin vo bí rib as atair ná as  
 bpatair oam-ra," ar Donnāó, "acā iao féin vo bean  
 umla oá bair n-aimóeoin oib i r o'feairib éireann maille  
 4365 i rib." Asur aoubairt Donnāó nac tiubraó géill ná  
 urruóe oóib-rean ná vo neac oile, asur vo ráio oá  
 mbeir comlíonaó cāta oóib-rean aige, nac léisfeao uatā  
 iao san géill ré beir umal oó féin amail vo báara  
 oá atair.

4370 Ar sclor an rceoil rin vo fluaš Dearmūmān vo  
 éirgeaoar so haclām obann i r vo sábrao a n-arma i r  
 tāngaoar vo tabairt cāta vo Óal sCair. Vo ráio  
 Donnāó mac brian an tan roin ré a muinntir a  
 n-oatir vo éur irteac i ráit Mairtean asur trian an  
 4375 tfluaš oá scoiméao, "asur ffeasraó," ar ré, "an oá  
 urrian oile cāt von luét úo." Sióeo ní raóara Óal  
 sCair acā aoin míle amāin o'fuióeall áir an tan roin; asur  
 vo báara Dearmūmāin trí míle vo fluaš. Óo éualaoar

## XXVI.

Now when the Battle of Cluain Tarbh was over and Brian and Murchadh with many Gaels slain, and the Lochlonnaigh and the Leinstermen defeated and the majority of them slain in that battle, and when the Dal gCais and race of Fiachaidh Muilleathan, had reached Mullach Maistean on their return journey, then the race of Fiachaidh formed themselves into a distinct host and separated from the Dal gCais; and as the Dal gCais were weak in hosts and contingents, they formed the resolution of sending envoys to Donnchadh, son of Brian, to ask hostages from him and to point out to him that his father and his father's brother had hostages from them, and they said they had a right to the sovereignty of Munster in alternate succession. "It was not with your consent ye were under my father or kinsmen," said Donnchadh, "it was they who made ye submit against your will and the men of Ireland with you." And Donnchadh added that he would give neither hostages nor sureties to them or to anyone else, and said that if he had enough of men to fight them he would not let them go without getting hostages from them for their being submissive to him as they were to his father.

When the Desmond host heard this message they arose promptly and suddenly, and seized their arms and went to give battle to the Dal gCais. Donnchadh, son of Brian, then directed his people to put their wounded men into Raith Maistean with a third of the host in charge of them, "and let the other two-thirds," added he, "meet that party in battle." Now the Dal gCais numbered then only one thousand, the remnant of a slaughter, while the Desmond host were three thousand strong. When the



na hothair an comrád roin Donncaid, do éirgeadair go  
 4380 héarcaid i' do cuiprio caonnac 'n-a gceadaid i' 'n-a  
 gceadcaid, i' do gabrao a n-arma 'n-a lámair i' do b'i  
 a gcomairle an cat do tabairt. Ón conncadair rlioct  
 fiaidac Muilleadain an meirneac roin do gab Dál gCair  
 4385 asur triallair pompa va uicicib gan géill o'fagail ó  
 Dál gCair.

lomtúra Dál gCair triallair pompa ar rin go hác i  
 ar bpiú beairda, i' cromair ar uirce o'ól ann. Do bi  
 Donncaid mac Siolla pádraig ní Orruige ar a gceionn ann  
 4390 rin go lion a fluaig i' a tionóil .i. laigin i' Orruige ar  
 maig Cloinne Ceallair i' coméad uair ar Dál gCair gá  
 rlighe a ngéadadair ar méad a fála ní. Óir i' é brian  
 do ceangail i' do cuibrig adair Donncaid, asur do bi  
 bliadain i' gcuibneac aige, asur do creadad i' do fáruigead  
 4395 Orruige uile i' do marbad iomad va noadoinb leir. Uime  
 rin do cuimnig Mac Siolla pádraig an fála do Dál  
 gCair, i' do cuir teadca uair go hác i' va n-ionnraighe 'ga  
 iarraid oirra braighe do cup cuige trié n-a léigean ar an  
 áit rin cairir. Siúead fá hé freagha Donncaid mic  
 4400 brian ar na teadcaid nac cuibrad braighe uóib.  
 "Maead," ar na teadca, "caitriu cat do freagha do  
 Mac Siolla pádraig." "Do-géadair ré cat," ar Donn-  
 caid, "asur i' triad nac é an bair fuair ar n-adair  
 fuadamar-ne ful páinib do léan oirinn iad-ran o'iarraid  
 4405 siall oirinn." Doubradair na teadca nír gan fearib do  
 beir air, asur nac raibe lion cat do tabairt do Mac  
 Siolla pádraig. "Aét ná maó gnat aitéadair a ucaet-  
 aineadca do tabairt ar teadcaid ar bié," ar Donncaid,  
 "do beanfaiúe bair ucaenga ar bair gceannaid agam-ra;  
 4410 óir gion go mbeinn-re aét doin siolla amáin do foémarie  
 ní cuibrainn obad comraic do Mac Siolla pádraig i'  
 o'Orruigib."



wounded heard this speech of Donnchadh's they arose quickly and put moss in their wounds and sores, and they grasped their weapons in their hands, and their counsel was to engage in the battle. When the race of Fiachaidh Muilleathan observed this courage on the part of the Dal gCais, both sound and wounded, they ceased to speak of engaging in the battle, and marched onwards to their homes without getting hostages from the Dal gCais.

As to the Dal gCais they marched on thence to Ath I on the breast of the Bearbha and began to drink water there. Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phadraig, king of Osruighe, was there to meet them with his full host and reserves, to wit, the Leinstermen and the Ossorians, on Magh Cloinne Ceallaigh, and he had set a watch on the Dal gCais to find what way they would take, by reason of his great enmity against them. For Brian had tied and bound Donnchadh's father and kept him a year in bondage, and had spoiled and wasted all Osruighe and slain many of its people. Hence Mac Giolla Phadraig kept up the enmity against the Dal gCais, and he sent envoys to them to Ath I, to ask them to send him hostages as a condition of his allowing them to pass from that place unmolested. But Donnchadh son of Brian's answer to the envoys was that he would not give hostages. "Then," said the envoys, "Mac Giolla Phadraig would have to be met in battle." "He will get battle," said Donnchadh, "and it is a pity that I did not meet the death my father met, before I was overtaken by the misfortune of these people demanding hostages from me." The envoys told him not to get angry, seeing that he was not strong enough to fight Mac Giolla Phadraig. "Now if it were the custom to give affront to any envoys whatever on account of their message," said Donnchadh, "I would have your tongues plucked out of your heads, for if I had but a single page as a following I would not refuse battle to Mac Giolla Phadraig and to the Ossorians."

1r ann rin vo cúir Donncaó mac brian trian an  
 trluais vo coiméas a n-otair asur an dá trian oile vo  
 4415 ffreastal an éata. Óo éualadar na hoctair rin vo  
 éirgeadar go hobann, sur burreas ar a gneasdaibh 1r  
 ar a gceadaibh, sur lionrao vo éaonnae 1ao, 1r vo gab-  
 rao a gleasa 1r a gcleoime, 1r cangadar i measc éaie  
 amlaio rin, asur aubriadar mé mac brian daoine vo  
 4420 cúir fá coill 1r cuailleadá coimneartaíria vo éabairt  
 leo asur a fátao ran talmain, “asur ceangailtear rinn  
 mé a n-air,” ar rao, “asur tugtar ar n-airm i n-air  
 lámhaibh 1r cuirtear ar mic 1r ar mbriáirte mar don rinn  
 .i. oir v’feariaibh flána timceall an firi gonta asainn,  
 4425 ionnur surab díocraíoe ar bfeiom lé éaile rin. Oir ní  
 léisfe an náiríe don fíor flán gluaraeet nó go ngluairfe  
 an fear gonta ceangailte asainn.” Vo ríonaó amlaio  
 leo, asur ba maetnaó meanman 1r ba hiongantar aóbal-  
 móir an t-ortugaó roin vo cuireadar Dál gCair orria  
 4430 féin.

Óo éonncadar laigin 1r Orriuge an meirneac móir-  
 aóbal roin as éirge i nDál gCair vo gab gráin 1r easla  
 1ao pompa asur 1r eas aubriadar, “ní triall teitíó, ní  
 rcaoileas ná rcanrias fobruio Dál gCair vo éaonam,”  
 4435 ar rao, “aet cae olúit daingean vo éaonam oíob féin.  
 Ar an aóbar roin ní éubriaim-ne cae oíob, oir 1r coim-  
 éear mé bair nó mé beata v’fulang 1ao.” Aubairt Mac  
 Giolla páorais: “1r cláit daobh-fe rin vo ráo, oir  
 atátaoi lion a n-íte rúo dá maó biaó ollam 1ao.” “1r  
 4440 fíor rin,” ar 1ao-ran, “asur síoó fíor ní muirbfeíoe  
 donuine díob rúo san cúige ar nó feirer vo éuicim  
 leir, 1r gá feiríoe dúinne ar gcommarbaó juú.” “Ó nae  
 aíl lib cae vo éabairt oíob,” ar Mac Giolla páorais,  
 “véimíó tóiríoeaet orria.” Asur fá meara lé Dál gCair  
 4445 rin ioná cae vo éabairt oíob. Triallao iomorio Dál



Then Donnchadh son of Brian set the third of the host in charge of their wounded and the remaining two-thirds to give the battle. When the wounded heard this, they sprang up suddenly, and their wounds and gashes burst open, and they filled them with moss, and they seized their lances and their swords and came in this guise into the midst of their comrades, and they besought the son of Brian to send men into the wood to fetch strong stakes which were to be stuck in the ground, "and let us be tied to these," said they, "and let our arms be given into our hands and let our sons and kinsmen be placed beside us, to wit, two unwounded men around each of us wounded, so that we may act together with the greater earnestness. For the unwounded man will be ashamed to leave his post until the wounded man of our company who is bound leaves it." They were arrayed in that way; and that array into which the Dal gCais put themselves was a surprise for the mind, and a very great wonder.

When the Leinstermen and the Ossorians observed this extraordinary courage rising in the Dal gCais they conceived fear and terror of them, and what they said was: "It is not a retreat in disorder or panic that may be expected from the Dal gCais," said they, "but the fighting of a close firm battle in self-defence. For this reason we will not give them battle, for they are indifferent as to whether they shall endure death or life." Mac Giolla Phadraig replied: "It is cowardly of you to say that, seeing that you are numerous enough to eat yonder company if they were cooked food." "That is true," they replied, "but though it be true, none of these will be slain without his having slain five or six, and how is it to our advantage to be slain with them?" "Since you do not wish to give them battle," said Mac Giolla Phadraig, "harass them by pursuit;" and the Dal gCais were less pleased at this than they would have been to give them battle. After this the



SCAIR vA nOÚTAÍG féin iAR rin go hearbaúac éascpuaúó,  
 asur ní páinis von baile i n-aoineasct né mac bhuain  
 vóib aet oet scéao go leit, óir vo cáillriov céao go  
 leit ran iompuasaoú roin as Ompuigib ar locaú caeta oirra.

- 4450 AS ro iomoprio an tuaragbáil vo-beir Maoilreac-  
 lainn mac Doimnail ní Miúe ar Cat Cluana Tarib i  
 scionn miopa v'éir an caeta vo eir; óir vo gabavari  
 clann Colmáin as fiafpuige rceil an caeta roin ve. Ir  
 ann rin avubairt Maoilreacclainn nac facaú féin maíh a  
 4455 íamailt vo cat ná bapamail vó. "Óir vA mbeir," ar ré,  
 "aingeal Dé vo nim as tabairt a tuaragbála vuit ba  
 vóipreimeac uair é. Vo báúura ceana ir mo fluaş va  
 b'reacain asur ran v'asau eavpaimn aet goit brianair ir  
 cloró. Siúeav an ran tugavari na caeta roin a n-oeta ir  
 4460 a n-upbriunne ar a céile, vo gabavari as rúrtaú ir as  
 ílatbualav ar oile, ir ba íamalta lé tpoimealtain  
 íaoilean ngeal ór cionn tráşa, as teact tuile i vciir,  
 ceacta cailcúe na íeiac ór a sceannuib; asur vA maó  
 mian linne vul vo éongnam vo ceactarí von vA táob, ní  
 4465 íaib ré ar cumar vúinn, óir vo ceanglav ir vo cuibreav  
 ar íleasá ir ar n-aima ór ar sceannuib vo na v'laoréib  
 v'ioşainne vianrcavilte vo íeolav an şaoé éuşainn v'íolt-  
 aib ir v'ulcavóib na laoc ar n-a leavairt ir ar n-a  
 láinteapcaó v'íavobpaib lann ir lúcarim va şac leit,  
 4470 ionnur şur ba lánmóir ar b'reóm as íeúeacav ir as  
 taicmúoc ar şcannşaile ó céile. Óir ba vóig linn nar  
 mó v'ulc von luét vo bí ran cat ioná vúinne íulang a  
 b'raicreana şan vul ar íeancorir ir ar íoluamain."

- féac, a léagctóir, bíóó şurab ar fluaş bhuain vo bí  
 4475 Maoilreacclainn ir íir íúe as teact go látarí an caeta,  
 mareav vó bí vo céilş v'oir ré féin ir loclonnais nac  
 táinig ran opuşav i mearc fluaş bhuain, aet ir eav vo

Dal gCais proceeded unto their own country in want and in difficulties, and only eight hundred and fifty reached home with the son of Brian, for they lost a hundred and fifty through this harassing pursuit of the Ossorians on their failing to give battle.

The following is the account of the Battle of Cluain Tarbh which Maoilseachlainn son of Domhnall, king of Meath, gave a month after the battle was fought; for the clann Cholmain were asking him for tidings of the battle. Thereupon Maoilseachlainn said that he had never seen such a battle or an approach to it. "For," said he, "if God's angel from heaven were to give you an account of it his account would seem incredible. Now I and my host were looking at them at the distance only of a fallow field and a fence. But when these battalions had faced one another and stood breast to breast, they set to flail and to lash one another; and like unto a heavy flock of white sea-gulls over the coast, when the tide is coming up into the land, were the white showers of shields above their heads; and if we wished to go to the assistance of either side it was not in our power to do so, for our lances and our arms were bound and fastened above our heads by the firm closely set wisps of hair which the wind blew to us from the heads and beards of the warriors as they were being hacked and cut down by the edge of the swords and strong weapons on every side, so that we found it difficult to keep the handles of our weapons from getting entangled in one another. And we thought that those who were in the fight did not suffer more than we did who had to look on without running wild and mad."

Observe, O reader, that though it was as part of the host of Brian that Maoilseachlainn and the men of Meath came to the field of battle, still through a plot between himself and the Lochlonnaigh, he did not come into the battle array amongst Brian's host, but what he did was



pinne é féin i r a f lu a s u ' a n m a i n u o l e a d t a o i b a n c a t a ,  
a m a i l u o o p r u i g e a d a r l o c l o n n a i g u o .

4480 Ní p a b a d a r C i n é a l e o g a i n n á r i o l g c o n a i l l r a n c a t ,  
g i o e a d n i h i a o n a r t a i r g t e a c t a n n a c t b r i a n a u u b a i r t  
t r é m é i o m e a n m a n g u i b ' n - a n - é a s m a i r u o p i n n e f é i n g a c  
á i t e a r u a n o e a r i n a i o m a m , " a g u r i r e a d u o - u é a n a n o i r ."  
a r r é .

4485 U o g a b M a o i l r e a c l a i n n a r i r u ' é i r b r i a m m i o g a c t  
é i r e a n n n a o i m b l i a d u a . I r ' n - a f l a i t e a r u o p i n n e a d  
n a g n i o m a - r o r i o r . T é i o M a o i l r e a c l a i n n m i é i r e a n n ,  
r l u a s l i o n m a r , i r ó n é i l l i r ó M a o l u o r a i o m a r a o n  
m i r , g o h á t C l i a c , g u r h a i r g e a d i r g u r l o i r c e a d a n  
4490 b a i l e l e o a r a n i a r m a r u o l o c l o n n a i b u o m a r a n t r á t  
r o i n g a n t u i t i m i g c a c é l u a n a t a r b l é b r i a n . T r i a l l -  
a i o a r r i n i n u i b C i n n r e a l a i g g u r c r e a c a d i r g u r  
l o i r c e a d a n t i r u i l e l e o , i r g u r m a r b a d i o m a o u o u a o i m i b  
a n n . U á é i r r i n u o é u a i o M a o i l r e a c l a i n n i n u l l t a i b

4495 g o u c u g i o m a o u o b r a i g u i b a r . I r f á n a m - r o u o m a r b a d  
U o n n a g á n m i l a i g e a n i r t a d s ó R i a m m i ó n o r ó n a i r  
i o m a o u o u a o i m i b o i l e l é U o n n e a d M a c g i o l l a p á o r a i g  
a r l á r l e i t g l i n n e , a g u r f u a i r M a c l i a g a r u o l l a m  
é i r e a n n b á r . S l u a g a d l é M a o i l r e a c l a i n n m i é i r e a n n i  
4500 n o r r u i g i b g u r m a r b a d U n g a l M a c g i o l l a p á o r a i g  
m a c U o n n e a i o , i r i o m a o u o u a o i m i b o i l e m a r a o n m i r  
a n n .

I r é a n M a o i l r e a c l a i n n - r e a r a b r u i l m i o a g t r i a c t  
u o p i n n e f u n d a t i o n a r m a i n i r t i r m u i r e i m b a i l e á t a  
4505 C l i a c , a o i r a n T i g e a r i n a a n t a n r o i n 1039 . A g u r u o b a  
u i n e c r i a i b t e a c a n M a o i l r e a c l a i n n - r e r a n a i m r i r u é i r u -  
e a n a i g ; ó i r a n t a n u o t u r m a d n e a r t l o c l o n n a c i g c a c  
é l u a n a t a r b i o n n u r n a c b i o u a c a a c t b a r u a c t i m b a i l -  
t i b e u a i n a g u r i a o a r u a i r i b a g t a b a i r t m u a s f á n g e r i e  
4510 a m a c a g u é a n a m c r e a c i r m u a c a r , u o b r i g n a c p a b a d a r  
l i o n c a t a u o f r e a r t a l u o g a e u e a l a i b , u o é i o n n r e a i n  
M a o i l r e a c l a i n n r c o l a u ' a c n u a d a d i r c e a l l a u o é u i n o a c



to remain with his host beside the battle, as the Lochlonnaigh had directed him.

Neither the Cineal Eoghain nor the siol Conaill were at the battle, but it was not that they did not offer to come there, but that Brian said in his high courage that it was without them he gained any success he had ever gained, "and so it will be now," said he.

Maoilseachlainn held the sovereignty again after Brian nine years. It was in his reign that the following events took place. Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, with a numerous host, together with O Neill and O Maoldoraidh, went to Ath Cliath, and they plundered and burned the town against the remnant of the Lochlonnaigh who lived at that time not having fallen by Brian at the Battle of Cluain Tarbh. Thence they proceeded to Ui Cinnsealaigh, and they spoiled and burned the entire country, and many people were slain there. After that Maoilseachlainn went to Ulster and brought thence many captives. It was about this time that Donnagan, king of Leinster, and Tadhg O Riain, king of O Drona, and many other persons were slain by Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phadraig in the field of Leithghlinn; and Mac Liag, high ollamh of Ireland, died. Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, made a hosting in Osruighe, and there slew Dunghal Mac Giolla Phadraig, son of Donnchadh, and many other persons with him.

It was this Maoilseachlainn of whom we are treating who founded the monastery of St. Mary's in the town of Ath Cliath in the year of the Lord 1039. And this Maoilseachlainn was a pious man in his latter days. For when the power of the Lochlonnaigh had been broken at the Battle of Cluain Tarbh so that they had only the wardenship of seaport towns, while it was their wont to make incursions into the country at times to spoil and ravage, as they were not numerous enough to give battle to the Gaels, Maoilseachlainn began to restore schools and to

17' 'o córuḡaḡo ar aicḡur ḡriain. Léaḡar fúr ḡo ucuḡaḡo  
coḡuḡaḡo 'o tḡí éaḡo mac léiḡinn ar a córtar féin.

- 4515 17' i ḡflaitear an máoilfeaclainn-ḡe 'o uallaḡo ḡriain  
mac Máoilmhóḡa mic Muiréaḡa, 'o bí 'n-a riḡ Láiḡean  
oá bliáḡain, lé Siḡuric mac Amḡaib i náḡ Cliaḡ tḡé  
meaḡail. 'O haiḡḡeaḡo 17' 'o cḡeaḡaḡo Ceannannur leiḡ  
an Siḡuric ḡcáḡona ḡur máirḡar iomaḡo 'o ḡaoiriḡ an  
4520 17' ḡo ucuḡarḡo iomaḡo 'o ḡriaiḡoib ar. 17' fán am-ḡo  
cuḡaḡo máirḡo móri lé Uḡaḡie mac Dúnlaing mic Tuáḡail  
mic Uḡaḡie mic Oiliolla mic Dúnlaing, 'o bí 'n-a riḡ  
Láiḡean tḡí bliáḡa, ar Siḡuric mac Amḡaib 17' ar loḡ-  
lonnaib áḡa Cliaḡ, ḡo ucuḡaḡo uarḡar loḡlonnaḡ an;  
4525 aḡur Donn Sléibe mac Máoilmhóḡa mic Muirḡiḡéin 'o  
loirḡ teáḡ Uḡaḡie, ḡur loirḡeaḡo Uḡaḡie an aḡ Duḡbloḡ  
Leaḡa Cuile. 'Oa éir rin 'o máirḡaḡo Siḡuric mac íomair,  
taoirḡeaḡo loḡlonnaḡ ḡuirḡ Laiḡḡe lé riḡ Oḡuiriḡe, aḡur  
fuaḡir Máoilfeaclainn ri éirḡann báḡ i ḡCḡó inḡ loḡa  
4530 hAinninn.

ḡioḡ ḡo n-áirḡiḡo na ḡeancáirḡe aḡroḡfoḡa 'o beir ar  
éirinn i noiaḡo Máoilfeaclainn, ní mearaim ḡo uḡáiriḡ ri  
ḡan ḡrearaḡra uirḡe ḡo ḡabáltar ḡall, áḡt cia 'o  
ḡabaoari oḡoḡ ḡioḡ ceannar ḡeaḡa éirḡann ri a n-aḡr.  
4535 aḡ ḡo uarḡaḡo an tḡeancáirḡo ar rin ḡan ḡann-ḡo:

tar éir máoilfeaclainn fona,  
mic Dómhailḡ mic Dónnéaḡa,  
'o ḡcar caoirḡi riḡ ḡaḡ cloinn  
's noḡar ḡaḡ aoirḡi éirinn.

build and set in order churches, after the example of Brian. We also read that he maintained three hundred students at his own expense.

It was in the reign of this Maoilseachlainn that Brian, son of Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, who was king of Leinster two years, was treacherously blinded by Sitric son of Amhlaoibh, in Ath Cliath. The same Sitric plundered and spoiled Ceanannus, slaying many people there and taking many captives thence. It was about this time that Ughaire son of Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, son of Ughaire, son of Oilill, son of Dunlaing, who was king of Leinster three years, inflicted a great defeat on Sitric son of Amhlaoibh, and the Lochlonnaigh of Ath Cliath, and dreadful slaughter was made of the Lochlonnaigh there. And Donn Sleibhe, son of Maolmordha, son of Muireigen, burned the house of Ughaire, so that Ughaire was burned in it at Dubhloch Leasa Cuile. After this, Sitric son of Iomhar, leader of the Lochlonnaigh of Port Lairge, was slain by the king of Osruighe, and Maoilseachlainn, king of Ireland, died at Cro-inis in Loch Ainninn.

Although the seanchas enumerate high kings as having ruled Ireland after Maoilseachlainn, I do not think that there was a king over the country without opposition until the Norman Invasion, notwithstanding that some of them assumed the sovereignty of Ireland. Here is the testimony of the seancha on this point in this stanza :

After prosperous Maoilseachlainn,  
Son of Domh  all, son of Donnchadh,  
To no tribe remained a fair king,  
And no one king ruled Erin.



## XXVII.

- 4540 Do gab Donncaó mac bhuain bópaime míoḡaét leite Moḡa ir umhóir éiréann uile caogao bliádan do piéir fínḡin Mic Camḡaig, ran leabhrán po reriób do Stair na héiréann, ir úmuinge oile pié reanḡur; aḡur ir mó mearaim an céarḡaíó-re do beir fíunnesé ioná céarḡaíó na úmuinge
- 4545 aḡeir naé paibe Donncaó i bflaitéar aét dá bliádan véas. Óir tíg céarḡaíó fínḡin leir an áiréam bliádan atá ó báir bhuain go gabálar fall; aḡur ní tíg an céarḡaíó véiréanaé. Uime rin mearaim ḡurab i céarḡaíó fínḡin atá fíunnesé, aḡeir ḡurab caogao bliádan fao flaitéara
- 4550 Óonncaíó. Ir i bflaitéar Óonncaíó cáimig harolt Conan ppuonḡra na bḡeatan ar teiteaó i néirinn, mar a bḡuair cumḡaé an ran fá haoir von Tigearna 1050. Ir pié linn Donncaóa do pinneaó na ḡnioma-ro rior. Óir ir ann do gabao ámlaoib mac Sitréaca taoiréac
- 4555 loéclonn i néirinn lé Matḡamain Ó Riagáin pi bḡeasḡ, go bḡuair dá céao véas bó ir ré ríeio eac o'fuarclaó ar.

- Ir fán am-ro rór do éuaíó flaitébeairtaé Ó néill na oiléire von Róm, aoir an Tigearna an ran poin 1073. Dá éir rin fuair Taóḡ mac loicáin pi Ua ḡCinnrealaig
- 4560 báir i nḡleann dá loé, aḡur é aḡ véanaim aitéuge ann, aḡur fuair ḡomḡflait inḡean mupcaóa mic floinn, pi laigean, mátair Sitréaca mic ámlaoib, taoiréac loéclonn i néirinn, báir, aḡur fa hi mátair Óonncaíó mic bhuain bópaime i. Ir fán am-ro do hairḡeao Cluian fearḡa bḡéanaim lé
- 4565 harit Coileac Ó Ruairc pi bḡeitérne; aḡur caíla Óonncaó mac bhuain an lá céana pi, go otug veairḡar muinntiré airt i noíḡail na ceallairḡe rin do pónḡat. Ir ḡiioo 'n-a úiaíó rin go noeacáíó Caéal mac Ruairí, pi iarḡair

## XXVII.

Donnchadh, son of Brian Boraimhe, held the sovereignty of Leath Mogha and the greater part of Ireland fifty years according to Finghin Mac Carrthaigh, in the booklet he has written on the History of Ireland, and others learned in the seanchus; and I think this opinion is more likely to be true than the opinion of those who say that Donnchadh reigned only twelve years. For Finghin's opinion is in accordance with the number of years that are from the death of Brian to the Norman Invasion, while the latter opinion is not. Hence I think that Finghin's opinion is the true one, which says that fifty years was the length of Donnchadh's reign. It was in the reign of Donnchadh that Harolt Conan, prince of Wales, fled to Ireland where he found shelter in the year of the Lord 1050. It was in Donnchadh's time that the following events took place. For it was then that Mathghamhain O Riagain, king of Breagha, took captive Amhlaoibh, son of Sitric, leader of the Lochlonnaigh in Ireland, and got a ransom of twelve hundred cows and six score steeds on his account.

It was about this time, also, that Flaithbheartach O Neill went on a pilgrimage to Rome the year of the Lord then being 1073. After this Tadhg, son of Lorcan, king of Ui Cinnsealaigh, died at Gleann da Loch while he was there as a penitent; and Gormfhlaith, daughter of Murchadh son of Flann king of Leinster, mother of Sitric, son of Amhlaoibh, leader of the Lochlonnaigh of Ireland, died, and she was the mother of Donnchadh, son of Brian Boraimhe. It was about this time that Cluain Feartha Breanainn was plundered by Art Coileach O Ruairc, king of Breithfne; and on the same day, Donnchadh, son of Brian, came upon him and made dreadful slaughter of his people in vengeance for that sacrilege they had committed. Soon after this, Cathal,



Connacht, na oiltíre go hAra Maeda. Da éir rin vo  
 4570 hairgead ír vo loircead popt Laigne lé Diarmaid mac  
 Maoil na mbó ní Laignean, agus vo hairgead Cluain Mic  
 Nóir lé Connáicuib, sup úioḡail Dia ír Ciapán rin orra .i.  
 urmóir a nuaoine ír a n-áirnéire d'éas go sruo da éir rin.

Ír fán am-ro vo loircead Cairréc mac Saoiribheachtaiḡ  
 4575 ní Eoganaéda Cairil i utiḡ éinead lé mac Longairḡáin  
 mic Duinn Cuan maille pé hiomao vo úaoineib uairle oile  
 mar don iur. Da éir rin vo cuircead Donnécad mac bhuain  
 a nioḡaét agus vo éuaíó da oiltíre von Róim go bfuair  
 báir ann i mainiurir Steapháin. Agus an ní aueirvo a lán  
 4580 supab vo ílioét Donnécada Puéiraiḡ Eurtáraiḡ ír Pluing-  
 céadaiḡ, ní bfuairar laoió ná leitir da úearbuaḡad supab  
 vo ílioét Donnécada ceáctar úioḡ, áct don iann amáin atá  
 ran buain uarab torac: Cuircead commaoin ar élonn  
 Tál, vo pinne Maoilín óḡ Mac bhuairveada, fear com-  
 4585 aimpire úúinn féin. An beolovear fór atá as a lán vo  
 éuaatadaib, mar a n-abraio iar noul vo 'Donnécad ar eáctra  
 von Róim da oiltíre sup éumairc ar ingin an impire vo  
 bí ann an trát roin, go ius mac úó, agus supab ón mac  
 roin tiocraoir na tré éineada vo luatúeamar; siúead ní  
 4590 héirir an ícéal-ro vo beir fíunnead; óir pé noul ar an  
 eáctra roin úó, vo ba reanóir cionna ciandaorta ór cionn  
 a éitíre fícro bliadán é, agus níor éorhail d'ingin impire  
 úúil vo éadairc vo luigé pé n-a íamailt d'atálad, agus  
 fór níor b'oircear úó-ran vo éuaíó ar eáctra ar leirḡ  
 4595 oiltíre ír airtíḡe úúil vo éur i mnaoi ran bioé.

Agus vo péir a noubriamar meafaim nar éumairc  
 Donnécad ar ingin an impire ír nac ius mac úó ó tioc-  
 raíoir an urong aubriamar.



son of Ruaidhri, king of west Connaught, went on a pilgrimage to Ard Macha. After this, Port Lairge was plundered and burned by Diarmaid son of Maol na mBo, king of Leinster, and Cluain Mic Nois was plundered by the Conmhaicne; and God and Ciaran avenged this on them, that is, most of their people and their cattle died soon afterwards.

It was about this time that Carrthach, son of Saoirbhreathach, king of Eoghanacht Chaisil, was burned, together with many other nobles, in a fire-house by the son of Longargan, son of Donn Cuan. After this Donnchadh, son of Brian, was deposed from his sovereignty, and went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died in the monastery of St. Stephen. And as to what many assert that the Pueraiigh Eustasaigh and the Pluingceadaigh are descended from Donnchadh, I have found neither lay nor letter to prove that any of them were descended from him, except one stanza which is in the poem beginning: I will confer a favour on the clann Tail, which Maoilin Og Mac Bruaideadha a contemporary of our own has composed. Moreover as to the tradition that exists among many of the rustics who say that when Donnchadh went on a pilgrimage to Rome he had intercourse with the daughter of the emperor who was there then, and that she bore him a son, and that from that son might have sprung the three septs we have mentioned; this story cannot be true, for before setting out on that expedition he was a very old decrepid man of over eighty years of age, and it is not likely that an emperor's daughter would covet intercourse with such a veteran, and, moreover, it would have been unbecoming in him who went for the sake of pilgrimage and penance to covet any woman whatever.

And from what I have said, I judge that Donnchadh did not have intercourse with the emperor's daughter, and that she did not bear him a son from whom the septs referred to could have sprung.

Iy córaíoe síunne an neite-re vo meaf maí léaḡtar  
 4600 i reínleabair annálaḡ vo rcpíobao a leabair bpeac mic  
 doḡaḡm tuairim tpi éao bliaoan ó rin go nveaoíao  
 Donncao iar ḡcpíocnuḡao tuair na Róma i mainirtir  
 S. Stiabna ran Róim vo coinnuío, aḡur ḡur ḡab cuinḡ  
 éraḡao pé a air ann, ḡur caíe a maíbe poime oa pé go  
 4605 haíeḡuḡao ran áit éaoa go bap.

Léaḡtar fóp i ḡcpoincib ḡall, maí a n-áimḡḡtar na  
 huairle cáinḡ vo ḡallaib i néirunn ar oúr, ḡurab i  
 oúr ḡabáltair ḡall cáinḡ Robert le Power ói éin-  
 pío Puéraiḡ iy Euráraiḡ i néirunn, aḡur aḡeiu na  
 4610 huḡoir éaoa ḡurab vo loólonnaib pluinḡaoaíḡ.

Vo ḡab Toirpúealbao mac Taiḡ mic bpiain bópaime  
 pioḡaoe Muman iy uphóir éipeann uile oa bliaoan  
 oasḡ. Móp inḡean ḡiolla bpiḡoe ui maolmuaí pi  
 éiméil fíaoao iy fepar ḡCeall mátar an Toirpúealbaiḡ-  
 4615 re ui bpiain. Iy 'n-a flaitear vo pinneo na ḡnioma-ro  
 pío. Óir iy ann vo maíbao Concubair mac Maolfeac-  
 lainn pi Míoe lé mac a uearbpátar fém .i. Mupáo  
 mac floinn tpe meabail, aḡur iuḡao a éeann ar a aónacal  
 ar éigin ó Cluain mic Nóir go Ceann Coḡao lé Toirp-  
 4620 úealbao Ó mbpiain via haome iar ḡCáire, aḡur iuḡao an  
 ceann éaoa ba tuao tar a air go Cluain mic Nóir ran  
 Doimnac ba neapá oóib, aḡur rin vo tíḡaoe vo miopbailib  
 éiapain.

Iy i bflaitear an Toirpúealbaiḡ-re vo éur William  
 4625 Rufur pi Sacran pío i néirunn i ḡcoinne aómaio vo éao  
 Toirpúealbaiḡ ui bpiain pioḡ néipeann pé n-a éur ar  
 éeann halla Westminster Anno Domini 1098; aḡur an



The truth of this statement will be the more readily admitted as we read in an old book of annals, which was copied from the Speckled Book of Mac Aodhaghain about three hundred years ago, that Donnchadh, after having performed his pilgrimage to Rome, went to live in the monastery of St. Stephen in Rome, and that he took upon himself the yoke of piety, and passed the remainder of his life until death in penance in the same place.

We also read in the chronicles of the Normans, where the Norman nobles who came first to Ireland are enumerated, that it was at the beginning of the Norman Invasion that Robert le Power, from whom sprang the Pueraiigh and the Eustasaigh in Ireland, first came, and the same authors say that the Pluingceadaigh are of Lochlonnach origin.

Toirrdhealbhach, son of Tadhg, son of Brian Boraimhe, held the sovereignty of Munster and of the greater part of all Ireland twelve years. Mor, daughter of Giolla Brighde O Maolmuaidh, king of Cineal Fiachaidh and and of Feara Ceall, was mother of this Toirrdhealbhach O Briain. It was in his reign that the following events took place. For it was then that Conchubhar, son of Maoilseachlainn, king of Meath, was treacherously slain by his own brother's son, to wit, Murchadh, son of Flann, and his head was forcibly carried off from where he was buried at Cluain Mic Nois to Ceann Choradh by Toirrdhealbhach O Briain the Friday before Easter, and the same head was taken back northwards to Cluain Mic Nois the next Sunday, and this happened through the wonder-working of Ciaran.

It was in the reign of this Toirrdhealbhach that William Rufus, king of England, by the permission of Toirrdhealbhach O Briain, king of Ireland, sent to Ireland for timber with which to roof Westminster Hall in the year of the Lord 1098; and the year before that the first



bliáðain poime rin vo hoimeasú an céirdearpos i bPope  
 lairge, Malcur a ainm, né Anselmur aithearpos Can-  
 4630 terburie. I r fán am-ro fuair Dearbforzail inġean Tairōz  
 mic Siolla páorais bean Toirpóealbas ūi ħmairn rios  
 urmóir éiréann bār. Da éir rin fuair Toirpóealbas ō  
 ħmairn rios urmóir éiréann uile bār iar zcáiteam dá  
 bliáðain véas i bflaitear vó.

4635 Do gab Muircearic mac Toirpóealbas mic Tairōz  
 mic ħmairn ħóiraimé riosacé Léite Moġa i r urmóir  
 éiréann uile ríce bliáðan. Caillead ōé inġean ūi éirne  
 máčairi Muircearic ūi ħmairn asur máčairi Ruairi ūi  
 Concuairi. I r 'n-a flaitéar vo rinneas na ġnóma-ro  
 4640 rior. Ari vúr i r é vo ħionn Cairéal von Easlaif mar  
 ióubairt vo ōia i r vo páorais an céirbliáðain da  
 flaitéar, an tan fá haoir von Tigeirna iicb; asur i r  
 fán am rin vo bi comóail coitcéann feari néiréann  
 ioiri laoc i r éléiréac mar don né Muircearic ō  
 4645 ħmairn ri Léite Moġa i bfiad Mic ndonġura. As ro  
 an líon vo éléiricib vo bi ran zcomóail rin, .i. Maol-  
 muiré ō Dúnáin aithearpos Muhan i r Ceallac mac  
 dova comóirba páorais .i. biocáiré zeneairálcá an ppiom-  
 áir, i r očtar earpos, tri céas i r tri ríci rāgar i r  
 4650 reacé ħrícir veocan i r iomav vo éléiricib nac áiririgéar  
 ann ro. Do hoiruiréas céana reacá i r vligé i r nóir  
 leo i zcill i r i vusac. Da éir rin fuair Maolmuiré ō  
 Dúnáin aithearpos na Muhan bār.

bishop, his name was Malcus, was consecrated at Port Lairge, by Anselmus, archbishop of Canterbury. It was about this time that Dearbhforgaill, daughter of Tadhg Mac Giolla Phadraig, wife of Toirrdhealbhach O Briain, king of the greater part of Ireland, died. After this Toirrdhealbhach O Briain, king of the greater part of all Ireland, died after he had reigned twelve years.

Muircheartach, son of Toirrdhealbhach, son of Tadhg, son of Brian Boraimhe, held the sovereignty of Leath Mogha and the greater part of all Ireland twenty years. Cailleach Dhe, daughter of O Heidhin, was mother of Muircheartach O Briain and mother of Ruaidhri O Conchubhair. It was in his reign that the following events took place. In the first place it was he bestowed Cashel on the Church as an offering to God and to Patrick the first year of his reign, in the year of the Lord 1106; and about this time there was a general assembly of the men of Ireland, both lay and cleric, around Muircheartach O Briain, king of Leath Mogha in Fiadh Mic Aonghusa. Here follows the number of clerics that were at this assembly, namely, Maolmuire O Dunain, archbishop of Munster, and Ceallach son of Aodh, comhorba of Patrick, that is the vicar-general of the primate, and eight bishops, three hundred and sixty priests and seven score deacons, and many clerics that are not enumerated here. And they made regulations and laws and customs for the Church and the laity. After this, Maolmuire O Dunain, archbishop of Munster, died.

## XXVIII.

1r mé linn an mhuirceartaig-re fódh vo horvuiḡeasú  
 4653 reanaó nó comúáil coitceann i nÉirinn i Ráit bhearsail,  
 an tan fá haoir von Tigearna II00, vo péir feinleabair  
 annálaó eaglaire Cluana hÉiríneac Fionntain i Laoisig,  
 mar a gcuirtear ríor na neite pinnriopálta vo rinneasú  
 ran treanaó roin; asur fá hé Siolla earpuis earpos  
 4660 luimniḡ fá leasáio ón pápa i nÉirinn an tan roin vo  
 b'arvuacáirán ar an gcomairle rin. As ro ríor iomorro  
 na neite vo horvuiḡeasú innte:

Ainail vo horvuiḡeasú dá earpós úeas ran leit ear  
 vo Saeraib um Canterbury, 1r dá earpos úeas ran leit  
 4665 éuasú um cáirib Eborac, 1r mar rin vo horvuiḡeasú i  
 Seanaó Ráta bhearsail i nÉirinn, mar atá dá earpos úeas  
 i Leit Moḡa 1r dá earpos úeas i Leit Cuinn, 1r fódh dá  
 earpos ran míre. 1r ann fá treanaó-ro tugasú cealla  
 Éireann go comlán vo na hearposuib gan cur na cíor vo  
 4670 beit as flaitib tuaithe oirra go brát. 1r ann fódh vo  
 horvuiḡeasú fairceasú nó dioceper earpos na hÉireann.  
 As ro líon earpos Leite Cuinn: reirer i gCúigeasú Ulaó  
 1r an príomáio u'áiream oirra, cúigea i gCúigeasú Connac  
 1r diaf ran míre. Sonas é rin comlíonasú dá earpos  
 4675 úeas Leite Cuinn i n-éasmar an príomáio. As ro  
 cádaoire Cúigíó Ulaó, mar atá Arto Maca as airvearpos  
 Arto Maca 1r príomáio ór earposuib Éireann uile, Clocair,  
 Arto Spaca, Doire, Cuinneire, 1r Dún dá leatḡlar;  
 cádaoire Míre, Daímliaḡ 1r Cluain Iorairto; cádaoire  
 4680 Cúigíó Connac .i. Tuaim dá ḡualann, Cluain Fearra  
 bhéanainn, Conga, Cill Alaó 1r Arto Capna. Cádaoire  
 Muinán, Cairéal as airvearpos Leite Moḡa, Lior Mór nó



## XXVIII.

It was also in the time of this Muircheartach that a synod or National Council was convened in Ireland at Raith Breasail in the year of the Lord 1100, according to an old book of annals of the church of Cluain Eidhneach Fionntain in Laoighis, in which are recorded the principal things done at that synod; and Giolla Easpuig, bishop of Luimneach, who was the Pope's legate in Ireland at that time, was president of that council. Now here follow the regulations that were made therein :

Just as twelve bishops were fixed under Canterbury in the south of England, and twelve bishops in the north under the city of York, a similar arrangement was made at the synod of Raith Breasail in Ireland, to wit, twelve bishops in Leath Mogha and twelve bishops in Leath Cuinn and also two bishops in Meath. It was at this synod that the churches of Ireland were given up entirely to the bishops free for ever from the authority and rent of the lay princes. It was there also were regulated the sees or dioceses of the bishops of Ireland. Here is the full number of the bishops of Leath Cuinn : six in the province of Ulster, including the primate ; five in the province of Connaught, and two in Meath. And this gives the full twelve bishops of Leath Cuinn excluding the primate. The following are the dioceses of the province of Ulster, to wit, Ard Macha, the see of the archbishop of Ard Macha and primate over the bishops of all Ireland, Clochar, Ard Sratha, Doire, Cuinneire, and Dun da Leathghlas ; the sees of Meath, Daimhliag and Cluain Ioraird ; the sees of the province of Connaught, namely, Tuaim da Ghualann, Cluain Fearta Breanainn, Conga, Cill Aladh, and Ard Charna ; the sees of Munster, Cashel held by the archbishop of Leath Mogha, Lios Mor or Port Lairge, Corcach,

Measaim, ma tá naé cuipéann an reimleabair ríor é,  
 4710 Supab reirear earpos do bí ran Mumain, ir reirear i  
 Laignib ir aithearpos Cairil ór a gcionn uile mar aitho-  
 prialáio ór cionn leite Moza ar loig an aithleair  
 temporálta, amail aithleair aithleir ag labhairt ar an  
 ní-re i bhlaitear laogaire.



Raith Mhaighe Deisceirt, Luimneach, Cill Dalua, Imleach Iobhair. These were the seven sees which were decreed to Munster at this synod. Five sees in Leinster, Cill Chainnigh, Leithghlinn, Cill Dara, Gleann da Loch, Fearna or Loch Garman. Adding these five sees to the seven sees of Munster they make twelve sees in Leath Mogha. The reason why Ath Cliath is not counted here is that it was not customary with its bishop to receive consecration except from the archbishop of Canterbury in England.

Hanmer states falsely that the archbishop of Canterbury had jurisdiction over the Irish clergy from the time of Augustine the monk until the Norman Invasion. For you will not find that the prelates of Canterbury had jurisdiction over the Irish clergy except in the time of Lanfrancus Ranulphus and Anselmus; and even then the portion of the clergy of Ireland over whom they had jurisdiction were the clergy of Ath Cliath, Port Lairge, Loch Garman and Luimneach who were descended from the remnant of the Lochlonnaigh who were called Normani, and it was through a feeling of friendship for the people of Normandy who sprang from their own race that the prelates of these places gave jurisdiction and authority to the archbishop of Canterbury over them, as is clear from the booklet written by Dr. Usher, for they considered if there were to be an election by the people between themselves and one of the Gaels who sought the same dignity, that their side would not have an equal chance, as in the election the Gael would have a larger popular vote than any of them.

I think that although the old book does not so state, it was six bishops that were in Munster and six in Leinster, with the archbishop of Cashel over them all as chief prelate of Leath Mogha after the manner of the temporal sovereignty as we have said above in treating of this matter in the reign of Laoghaire.



4715    Aς go ríor uo na fairceaduib nó uo na uioféirib i  
ua uoeorannuib amail uo horuigeaó ran tSeanaó-go  
Ráta bheasail.

Fairce aiphearpuis Aroa Macla, ó Sliab bheas go  
Cuaille Ciannacla i ó bhoi go habainn móir.

4720    Fairce Clocair, ó Abainn móir go Gabail Luin asur  
ó Sliab beata go Sliab Larfa.

Fairce Aroa Spata, ó Sliab Larfa go Capn nGlair i  
ó Loc Cpaol go binn foibne.

Fairce earpuig Doiré nó Ráta bot, ó ear Ruair go  
4725 Spuib bhoir i ó Capn nGlair go Spuib bhoir.

Fairce earpuig Cuinnie, ó binn foibne go Toibuir,  
i ó Poir Murbois go hOllorba go Cuan Snáma hAíone,  
i ó Slionn Rios go Colba nSeapmainn.

Fairce earpuig Dúin uá Leatglar, ní fasctar ran  
4730 treimleabair a teorainn.

Fairce earpuig Damhla, ó Sliab bheas go Capn Dúin  
Cuair i ó Locán na hImme roir go fairrige.

Fairce Cluana hlorair, ó Clocán riari go Sionainn i  
ó lubair Coillte go Cluain Conaire.

4735    Fairce Cluana Fearra, ó Sionainn go buirinn i ó  
Ectge go Succa.

Fairce Tuama, ó Succa go hAro Capna i ó Át an  
Teapmainn go Sionainn.

Fairce Conga, ó Abainn Ó mBhuir buó tuair go Néimh-  
4740 éinn i ó Át an Teapmainn riari go fairrige.

Fairce Cille hAcla, ó Néimh éinn go hEar Ruair i ó  
Cill Aiphibile go Spait an Fearainn.

Fairce Aroa Capna nó Aroacaó, ó Aro Capna go Sliab  
an Iapainn i ó Céir Copuinn go hlobair Coilltéan. Ma'r  
4745 aontac elair Connaet ar an poinn-re i toil linne i, asur

Here follow the sees or dioceses and their boundaries as they were regulated in this synod of Raith Breasail.

The see of the archbishop of Ard Macha, from Sliabh Breagh to Cuaille Ciannachta and from Bior to the Abhann Mhor.

The see of Clochar, from the Abhann Mhor to Gabhail Liuin and from Sliabh Beatha to Sliabh Largha.

The see of Ard Sratha, from Sliabh Largha to Carn Glas and from Loch Craoi to Beann Foibhne.

The see of the bishop of Doire or Raith Both, from Eas Ruadh to Srubh Broin and from Carn Glas to Srubh Broin.

The see of the bishop of Cuinnire, from Beann Fhoibhne to Torbhuirg, and from Port Murbhoilg to Ollorbha and to Cuan Snamha Aidhne, and from Gleann Riogh to Colbha Gearmainn.

The see of the bishop of Dun da Leathghlas, its boundary is not found in the old book.

The see of the bishop of Daimhliag, from Sliabh Breagh to Carn Duin Cuair and from Lochan na hImrime eastward to the sea.

The see of Cluain Ioraird, from Clochan westward to the Sionainn, and from Iubhar Coillte to Cluain Conaire.

The see of Cluain Fearta, from the Sionainn to Buireann and from Echtghe to the Succa.

The see of Tuaim, from the Succa to Ard Charna, and from Ath an Tearmainn to the Sionainn.

The see of Conga, from Abhann Ui Bhriuin northwards to Neimhtheann, and from Ath an Tearmainn westward to the sea.

The see of Cill Aladh, from Neimhtheann to Eas Ruadh, and from Cill Airdbhile to Sraith an Fhearainn.

The see of Ard Charna or of Ardachadh, from Ard Carna to Sliabh an Iarainn, and from Ceis Chorainn to Iobhar Coilltean. If the Connaught clergy agree to this division,

4715 Δε γο γίγρ το na γαιρθεαδαίδ nó το  
 να υτεορμannaίδ αηαίλ το χορτουίγεαδ  
 Ράτα υρεαγail.

Γαιρθε αηρεαγρuiγ Δηρα Μαα, ó ε  
 Cuaille Ciannaατα ιγ ó υιοι γο ηαδαινν

4720 Γαιρθε ελοαίρ, ó αδαινν μίοι γο γο  
 ó σλιαδ θεατα γο σλιαδ λαίγα.

Γαιρθε Δηρα σπατα, ó σλιαδ λαίγα γο  
 ó λοτ εραοι γο υιnn φοιβne.

Γαιρθε εαγρuiγ υοιρε nó Ράτα υοτ, ι  
 4725 σγυιδ υιοιι ιγ ó εαγιν ηγλαίρ γο σγυιδ

Γαιρθε εαγρuiγ Cuinnιe, ó υιnn φοιδ  
 ιγ ó πορτ μυρδοιλγ γο ηολλορδα γο Cuαν  
 ιγ ó γλιονν Ρίογ γο Colδα ηγερμαινν.

Γαιρθε εαγρuiγ υúιι να λεατγλαίρ,  
 4730 γρεινλεαδαγ α τεομαινν.

Γαιρθε εαγρuiγ υαιμλιαγ, ó σλιαδ υρεα  
 Cuαι ιγ ó λοαάν na ηιμγυιe γοιγ γο φα

Γαιρθε ελουana ηιορμαιο, ó ελοαάν γιαγ  
 ó ιυδαγ Coιλλte γο Cluαιι Conαιρε.

4735 Γαιρθε ελουana φεαρτα, ó σιοναινν γο  
 εετγε γο Succa.

Γαιρθε τυαμα, ó Succa γο ηαγιο εαγ  
 Teαρμαινν γο σιοναινν.

Γαιρθε Conγα, ó αδαινν Ó mδγυιιιι buγ  
 4740 τιιιι ιγ ó άτ an Teαρμαινν γιαγ γο φαίγ

Γαιρθε Cille ηαλαδ, ó Neimctιιιι γο  
 Cιλλ αηροδile γο σπατ an φεαρμαινν.

Γαιρθε Δηρα Capna nó Δηραααδ, ι  
 an ιαγμαινν ιγ ó Céιγ Coγυιιιι γο ηι  
 4745 αονταδ cliaγ Connαατ αγ an γκ



muna n-dontuigis bioú ar an poinn 17 toil leo; agus 17  
maí linne an poinn 17 maí leo-ran, aét amáin naé biaú  
1 5Connaétais aét éúis earpuis.

Faírce aithearpuis Cairil, ó Sliab Eiblinne go Siuir  
475) 17 ó Énámcóill a5 Tiobrao Áraann go Spéin Aib roir .i.  
Cior Spéine.

Faírce Leara Móir nó Súir Lairge, ó Mileadóac ar  
bhuac na beaibha a5 Cumair na uirí nuirceao go Corcais  
agus ó Siuir buú úear go fairrige.

4755 Faírce Corcaige, ó Corcais go Cairn Uí Néio 17 ó  
Abainn Móir buú úear go fairrige.

Faírce Ráe Máige veirceir ó Daoi Béirre go Ceann  
mbeara 17 ó Féil go Dairbhe.

Faírce Cille Dála, ó Slige Dála go Léim Con  
4760 5Culainn, 17 ó Ectge go Sliab Uíe an Ríog, 17 ó Sliab  
Uíe an Ríog go Sliab Caoin nó Gleann Caoin.

Faírce Luimnig, an Maoilceair roir, áe ar Coinne,  
Loran 17 Loc Fair, 17 an Laiteac Móir ó Áine fair, 17 Aró  
Párpais buú úear, 17 bealaé Feabhaú 17 Tulac Léir, Féil  
4765 fair, 17 Fairbhior, 17 Cuinche 1 uTuadumhain, 17 Ciorra 1  
Sliab Uíe an Ríog, 17 Dubabann. Sibé tí tar na teor-  
annaib-se 17 tar páruaó an Coimbe 17 Peavair aprail  
17 Naom Párpais 17 a comorba 17 na heagailre Crioraíúe  
éis ré; agus 17 é teampull Muir 1 Luimneac a príom-  
4770 eaglaí.

Faírce Imlig Iobair, ó Cluain Caoin go hAbainn Móir  
17 ó Énámcóill a5 Tiobrao Áraann go hAbainn ealla.

Faírce Cille Cannig, ó Sliab blaúma go Mileadóac  
17 ó Spéin Aib go Sliab Maige.

4775 Faírce Leirglinne, ó Sliab blaúma go Sliab Uíe  
Lairgean, 17 ó Sliab Maige go bealaé Cairpaé, 17 ó  
bealaé Muína go Teac Moling go n-a tearmonn.

we desire it, and if they do not, let them divide it as they choose, and we approve of the division that will please them, provided there be only five bishops in Connaught.

The see of the archbishop of Cashel, from Sliabh Eibhlinne to the Siuir and from Cnamhchoill at Tiobrad Arann eastward to Grian Airbh, that is Cros Ghreine.

The see of Lios Mor or Port Lairge, from Mileadhach on the brink of the Bearbha at Cumar na dtri nUisceadh to Corcach, and from the Siuir southward to the sea.

The see of Corcach, from Corcach to Carn Ui Neid, and from the Abhann Mhor southwards to the sea.

The see of Raith Mhaighe Deisceirt, from Baoi Bheirre to Ceann Beara, and from the Feil to Dairbhre.

The see of Cill Dalua, from Slighe Dhala to Leim Chon gCulainn, and from Echtghe to Sliabh Uidhe an Riogh, and from Sliabh Uidhe an Riogh to Sliabh Caoin or Gleann Caoin.

The see of Luimneach, the Maoilchearn eastward, Ath ar Choinne, Lodan and Loch Gair, and the Laitheach Mhor from Aine westward, and Ard Padraig to the south and Bealach Feabhradh and Tulach Leis, the Feil westward and Tairbeart and Cuinche in Thomond, and Crossa in Sliabh Uidhe an Riogh and the Dubhabhann. Whoever shall go against these boundaries goes against the Lord and Peter the Apostle and St. Patrick and his comhorba and the Christian Church. And the Church of Mary in Luimneach is its principal church.

The see of Imleach Iobhar, from Cluain Caoin to the Abhann Mhor, and from Cnamhchoill at Tiobrad Arann to Abhann Ealla.

The see of Cill Chainnigh, from Sliabh Bladhma to Mileadhach, and from Grian Airbh to Sliabh Mairge.

The see of Leithghinn, from Sliabh Bladhma to Sliabh Uidhe Laighean, from Sliabh Mairge to Bealach Carcrach, and from Bealach Mughna to Teach Moling and its termon lands.

Fairce Cille Dara, ó Rof Fionnglaise go nár laigean,  
 ir ó nár go Cumair Cluana hIorairio ir go Sléibéib Glinne  
 4780 dá loc.

Fairce Glinne dá loc ó Shuanóis go beig-Éirinn ir ó  
 nár go Reacrúinn.

Fairce Fearna nó Loca Farman ó beig-Éirinn go  
 Mileadac von leit tiam von Dearba, ir ó Sliaib Uíde  
 4785 laigean buó dear go muir; agus ma doncuigis cliair  
 laigean rin ir toil linne é, aét nac biaió aét cúig earpuig  
 aca.

Beannaét an Coimbe ir Peavair aprail ir Naomh  
 Pádraig ar gac n-earpog von cúigear ar fícho-re nac  
 4790 biaió Cáirc gan ola vo coirreagad.

Et multa alia bona statuta sunt in hac sancta synodo  
 quae hic non scripsimus propter brevitatem.

✠ comorba Peavair ir a leagáire .i. Siolla Earpuig  
 earpog Luimni,

4795 ✠ Siolla Ceallais comorba Pádraig ir príomái  
 éireann,

✠ Maoilíora Uí Ainmire aipvearpuig Cairil,

Cpora na n-uile earpog ir na n-uile laoc ir éleiréac  
 vo bí ran treanaó naomta-ro Ráta Dhearsail ar an tí  
 4800 tiocfar tar na horuigéib-re, agus a mallaét uile ar gac  
 n-aon tiocfar 'n-a n-aghaid.



The see of Cill Dara, from Ros Fionnghlaise to Nas Laighean, and from Nas to Cumar Chluana Ioraird and to Sleibhte Ghlinne da Loch.

The see of Gleann da Loch, from Grianog to Beig-Eire, and from Nas to Reachruinn.

The see of Fearna or Loch Garman, from Beig-Eire to Mileadhach on the west of the Bearbha, and from Sliabh Uidhe Laighean south to the sea; and if the Leinster clergy agree to this it is our pleasure, provided they have only five bishops.

The blessing of the Lord and of Peter the Apostle and of St. Patrick be on everyone of these twenty-five bishops who shall let no Easter pass without consecrating oil.

And there are many other good decrees of this holy synod which we have not set down here for brevity.

The cross of the comhorba of Peter and of his legate, that is Giolla Easpuig, bishop of Luimneach,

The cross of Giolla Ceallaigh the comhorba of Patrick and primate of Ireland,

The cross of Maoiliosa O Ainmire, archbishop of Cashel,

The crosses of all the bishops and of all the laity and clergy who were at this holy synod of Raith Breasail against whomsoever shall transgress these decrees, and the malediction of them all on whomsoever shall oppose them.

## XXIX.

Léagtar i gcroinic Hackluite an tan vo bí Muirceartaic  
 ó bhuain i gceannar éireann sup éuireadar luét na  
 nOileán teacra 'n-a váil ag a iarraid ari uine éigin va  
 4805 briaicrib .i. von fuil niozua vo cup i gceannar feadna  
 ór cionn na nOileán an fead vo biaó Olanur nó Amldoib  
 mac Soerpuio von leic iriciz v'aoir, an tí var váal beic  
 'n-a níz ar na hOileánaib; agur vo cupi Muirceartaic  
 uine uaral va éine féin var b'ainm Domnall mac Taios  
 4810 uí bhuain ór a gcionn, agur vo gab a gceannur tri  
 bliadna sup gab ag véanaim anflaitir orra; agur vo  
 vibfead trío rin lé luét na nOileán go héirinn tar a  
 ari é.

Léagtar ag an ugar gceadna sup cupi Mañnur mac  
 4815 Amldoib mic Araile vo bí 'n-a níz ar an Noruagia  
 teacra go Muirceartaic Ó mbhuain ir a bpoza féin leo ag  
 a fozraó vo Muirceartaic na bpoza v'iomcar ar a  
 guailnib; agur ar vteacé vo na teacraib vo látar, noct-  
 aio a vtoirc vó. Gabair Muirceartaic na bpoza uacá ir  
 4820 cupir ar a guailnib iav; agur ar n-a faicrin rin vo na  
 huairlib vo bí 'n-a foear vo gab fearz mór iav, ir vo-  
 beirio aicbeair vó trér an ní rin vo véanaim. "Ir fearr  
 liom-ra," ar Muirceartaic, "ro vo véanaim ioná Mañnur  
 v'arigain doncúigeaó i n'éirinn." Ollmuiscear va éir  
 4825 rin cablac móri lé Mañnur, ir triallair v'ionnruige na  
 héireann ón Noruagia ié voear ir ié vóic vo véanaim  
 oi, agur ar vteacé i ngar na héireann vó, tiz féin ir  
 beann von cablac i vóiri tré iomao veicbipe ié vibfeiriz  
 vo véanaim; agur ar poctain i vóiri vóib tarla luét na  
 4830 críce i n-oiréil pompa; agur ar poctain i vóiri vo Mañnur  
 go n-a fluaqbuióin lingio luét na críce orra; agur marb-  
 ear Mañnur go n-a fluaq ran turar roin; agur ar n-a



## XXIX.

We read in the chronicle of Hackluite that when Muircheartach O Briain held the sovereignty of Ireland the people of the Isles sent envoys to him to request him to send some one of his kinsmen of the royal blood to rule over the Isles during the nonage of Olanus or Amhlaoibh son of Gothfruidh, who had an hereditary right to be king of the Isles ; and Muircheartach sent a nobleman of his own kindred named Domhnall son of Tadhg O Briain to rule over them, and he held sovereignty over them three years, when he began to tyrannise over them, and for this reason the people of the Isles sent him back to Ireland.

We read in the same author that Maghnus, son of Amhlaoibh, son of Aralt, who was king of Norway, sent envoys to Muircheartach O Briain, and sent his own shoes with them, to command Muircheartach to place the shoes on his shoulders ; and when the envoys had come into his presence they gave him their message. Muircheartach took the shoes from them and put them on his shoulders ; and when the nobles who were with him saw this, they became greatly enraged, and they reproached him for having done this deed. "I prefer to do this," said Muircheartach, "to Maghnus's plundering any province of Ireland." After this Maghnus got ready a large fleet and came from Norway to Ireland to injure and ruin that country, and when he had come near Ireland he came to land himself with a wing of the fleet through his great hurry to work havoc ; and when they had landed, the inhabitants of the country were in readiness for them ; and when Maghnus and his detachment came on land the inhabitants sprang upon them, and Maghnus and his party were slain on that expedition. And when the men of the fleet he had left



élor von cáblac vo bí 'n-a úaiú sup maibad Maḡnur  
fá taoipeac dóib, tillio tar a n-air von Noisaeḡia.

4835 An Muirceaptae-ro Ó bhuain atáimio vo luad, iar  
ḡcaiteam éúḡ mbliadan i utreabluio vó, fudair bár  
aiteḡeac i nAro Maca, ir vo haúnaicead i ḡCill Dálua  
é ran utampull mói,

Vo ḡab Toirprealbac Mói mac Ruaióri úi Concubair  
4840 ceannar umóir éipeann o'éir Muirceaptais úi bhuain  
ar fead ficeao bliadan. Ir 'n-a flaitear vo minnead na  
ḡnioma-ro pior. Ir leir an Toirprealbac-ro tóḡbad tri  
priumóroicío i ḡConnaétaib .i. vpoiceao áta luain ir  
vpoiceao áta Crióda ar Sionainn aḡur vpoiceao Dún  
4845 leoḡda ar Succa. Sluaḡeao leir an vToirprealbac-ro  
von Mumain, sup hairḡeao Cairéal ir Aro Fionáin leir;  
aḡur ar mbeit aḡ uil vo éreacao Aroa Fionáin vó,  
táimḡ vponḡ von Mumain fá veipeao an tḡluaiḡ ir vo  
maibad leo Aod O hEóin ní Ó bḡiaépac ir Muirceadac  
4850 Ó flaitéaptais ní iaréair Connaét ir ioma vo úaoimib  
uairle oile nac áirmḡtear annro.

Da éir rin vo éuaió an Toirprealbac-ro ḡo ḡluaiḡ  
lionmair leir ar muii ir ar tíi ḡo Coricaiḡ, aḡur ḡadbair  
aḡ arḡain Mumán uile; aḡur vo poimn an Mumáin 'n-a  
4855 dá leat, aḡur tuḡ an leat éear vo Dónnéao mac Cairi-  
éaiḡ ir an leat éuaió vo Concubair Ó mbhuain, aḡur ius  
triócáo i ḡḡiall leir uacá aḡaon. Ir fán am-ro vo beann-  
uḡeao teampull Cormaic i ḡCairéal maille pé hioma  
vo éléircib ir v'uaiḡlib na h'éipeann vo beit ann, doir  
4860 an Tḡearna an tan roin II34. Da éir rin vo maibad  
Cormac mac Cairiéaiḡ ní Mumán i bḡeill lé Toirprealbac  
Ó mbhuain .i. a éliamain féin ir a éairpear Crióir; aḡur  
fudair Maolmasóos .i. Malachias, vo bí n-a airpearpos  
éipeann ir Alban, bár, doir an Tḡearna an tan roin II35.  
4865 Sluaḡeao lé Toirprealbac Ó Concubair aḡir von Mumáin  
maille pé neart Connaét, Laiḡean, na Míoe ir Féar

behind heard that Maghnus their leader was slain, they returned to Norway.

This Muircheartach O Briain of whom we are treating after he had spent five years in trouble died repentant at Ard Macha, and was buried at Cill Dalua in the principal church.

Toirrdhealbhach Mor, son of Ruaidhri O Conchubhair, held the sovereignty of the greater part of Ireland after Muircheartach O Briain for the space of twenty years. It was in his reign the following events took place. This Toirrdhealbhach built three chief bridges in Connaught, to wit, the bridge of Ath Luain and the bridge of Ath Crochdha on the Sionainn and the bridge of Dun Leoghdha on the Succa. This Toirrdhealbhach made a hosting into Munster and plundered Cashel and Ard Fionain, and when he was marching to spoil Ard Fionain a body of Munstermen came upon the rear of the host and slew Aodh O hEidhin, king of Ui Fiachrach, and Muireadhach O Flaithbheartaigh, king of west Connaught, and many other nobles not enumerated here.

Thereafter this Toirrdhealbhach with a large land and sea force went to Corcach, and set to plunder all Munster; and he divided Munster into two parts, and gave the southern part to Donnchadh Mac Carrthaigh, and the northern half to Conchubhar O Briain, and he took thirty hostages from them both. It was about this time that Cormac's church was consecrated at Cashel in the presence of many clerics and nobles of Ireland, the year of the Lord at that time being 1134. After that Cormac Mac Carrthach, king of Munster, was treacherously slain by Toirrdhealbhach O Briain, that is, his own son-in-law and gossip; and Maolmaadhog, that is Malachias, who was archbishop of Ireland and of Alba, died, the year of the Lord then being 1135. Toirrdhealbhach O Conchubhair with the strength of Connaught, Leinster and Meath, and



óTeabha í Ruaricae, go dtugraí faoiúairt na Mumhan  
 go rángadair Gleann Maíair, go dtarla dóib ann rin  
 Toirnéalbac Ó Uíair ní Mumhan agur mac Concubair  
 4870 Uí Uíair go bfeairib Mumhan maille ní. Trí catá ba  
 head á Lion. Feairtair Cat Móna Móire eatorra, gur  
 bairtair do Dál gCair í o'feairib Mumhan ann, go  
 nveadair tar áiream air tuit díob. Do hionnairtair  
 Toirnéalbac Ó Uíair go Trí Eogair, í do roinn Toir-  
 4875 néalbac Ó Concubair an Mumhan roir Tair Ó mUíair  
 í Diarmaid mac Cormaic mic Cairtair.

Ír gur da éir rin go bfair Toirnéalbac Ó Con-  
 cubair ní uiríoir Éireann báir, agur oét mbliadna ír trí  
 ríoir do b'air do an tan roin, gur haónairead ag alóir  
 4880 níoir Éiríair í gCluair Mic Níoir é, agur ír móir an  
 leagair o'fáirib ag an gcléir air á anam, mar atá dá  
 ríoir air cúir céad. uirge o'oir, ír dá ríoir marir o'airgead,  
 ír á raíadair do feoirib uile airge roir éoir ír éoir  
 n-uair, roir eadair ír ríoir, éadair, ríoir ír bairnair,  
 4885 boir ír bolgair roirgead, rtaball ír air; ír do oiruir féir  
 cuir gac cille do roinn do ríoir uir air gac cill díob fá  
 read. Ír rán am-ro fair Tair Ó longairgair eairge  
 Cille Dálair báir.

Do gab Muirceairtair mac Néill mic Loóloinn flaitair  
 4890 Leir Cuinn ír uiríoir Éireann oét mbliadna véag, gur  
 tuit lé feairib feairnairge ír leir Ó mUíair. Agur ír  
 ran reatáir bliadair do flaitair an fíir-re do commóir  
 comóir agur comairle éoirceann eairair Éireann í  
 gCeannair na Míoir an tan fá hair von Tígeair II52,  
 4895 né roirruir an éiruir Éoirlice ír né n-a glair, ír  
 né ceairtair báir an róir, ír né hoirnead ceair  
 n-airreairge, ír né éirre pallair do dáir díob. Óir ní



of Feara Teabhtha and of O Ruairc's country, made another hosting into Munster, and they made a free circuit of Munster until they reached Gleann Maghair, where they met Toirdhealbhach O Briain, king of Munster, and the son of Conchuhbar O Briain, and the men of Munster with them. They were three battalions in all. The Battle of Moin Mhor was fought between them and the Dal gCais, and the Munstermen were defeated there and a countless number of them fell. Toirdhealbhach O Briain was banished to Tir Eoghain, and Toirdhealbhach O Conchubhair divided Munster between Tadhg O Briain and Diarmaid son of Cormac Mac Carrthaigh.

Soon after this, Toirdhealbhach O Conchubhair, king of the greater part of Ireland, died, and he was sixty-eight years of age at that time, and he was buried at the high altar of Ciaran at Cluain Mic Nois; and great was the legacy he left to the clergy for his soul's sake, to wit, five hundred and forty ounces of gold, and forty marks of silver, and all the other valuables he had, both goblets and precious stones, both steeds and cattle, clothes, chess and backgammon, bows and quivers, sling and arms, and he himself gave directions how each individual church's share should be given to it according to its rank. It was about this time that Tadhg O Longargain, bishop of Cill Dalua, died.

Muircheartach, son of Niall, son of Lochlann, held the sovereignty of Leath Cuinn and of the greater part of Ireland eighteen years till he fell by the men of Fearnmhagh and by O Briuin. And it was in the seventh year of this man's reign that an assembly and general council of the church of Ireland was convened at Ceanannus na Midhe in the year of the Lord 1152, to set forth the Catholic faith and to purify it and to correct the customs of the people, and to consecrate four archbishops and to give them four pallia. For there had been up to

naíbe roimhe rin 1 nÉirinn aét vā aipvearpog, mar atā  
 ppiomāiō Apta Mača 1p aipvearpog Cairil. Aḡur 1p iāo  
 4900 fā harouaētarpāin ari an ḡcomairle rin ón pápa, ḡiolla  
 Cpiort Ó Conairce Earpog Leara Móir 1p ceann manac  
 Éipeann 'n-a leagāio, 1p cairvionāl mar aon pír vāp b'ainm  
 Ioanneḡ Pápiōn vo véanañ. maḡlāiḡte 1p opvuiḡte 1  
 nÉirinn, 1p vo véanañ neite ba méara lé hÉirinn ionā rin,  
 4905 mar atā vāil éeitre pallia. Óir vo ba lór lé hÉirinn  
 pallium 1 nāpō Mača 1p pallium 1 ḡCairéal, aḡur ḡo  
 háipite 1p tapí rāpuḡaō eāḡailre Apta Mača 1p Dúin vā  
 leatḡlar tugāō amac aét pallium 1 nāpō Mača 1p  
 pallium 1 ḡCairéal, amāil noctar reinleabap annālaē  
 4910 eāḡailre Cluana hEirōneac 1 Laoiḡir é, lé ḡcuiríteap ruim  
 na comairle-re rior.

1ap ruiōe iomopio ran comairle vōib, vo pinneac  
 opvuiḡte 1p nōir romolta leo ari vāil na ḡceatpa pallia-  
 ro. Aḡ ro rior bmaḡpa an treinleabap iur vo rcriōbaō  
 4915 1 ḡCluain Eirōneac Fionntain 1 Laoiḡir.

m. c. l. 2 anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu  
 Christi, bissextili et embolismali anno, Nobile Concilium  
 in vernali tempore ad Dominicam "Laetare Ierusalem"  
 apud Ceanannus celebratum fuit, in quo Presidens Domi-  
 4920 nus Iohannes Cardinalis Presbiter Beati Laurentii in  
 Damasco inter viginti duos episcopos et quinque electos  
 et inter tot Abbates et Priores, ex parte Beatorum Apos-  
 tolorum Petri et Pauli et Domini Apostolici Eugenii,  
 simoniam et usuram omnibus modis extirpavit et dam-  
 4925 navit, et decimas dandas Apostolica auctoritate praecepit.  
 Quattuor pallia quattuor Archiepiscopis Hiberniae, Dub-  
 linensi Caselensi Tuamensi Armachano tradidit. Insuper  
 Armachanum archiepiscopum in primatem super alios



then in Ireland only two archbishops, to wit, the primate of Ard Macha and the archbishop of Cashel. And those who presided at this council on behalf of the Pope, were Giolla Criost O Conairce, bishop of Lios Mor, and head of the Irish monks, as legate, and a cardinal with him, whose name was John Papiron, for the purpose of making rules and regulations in Ireland, and for doing a thing which Ireland regarded with greater concern than this, to wit, the giving of four pallia. For Ireland thought it enough to have a pallium in Ard Macha and a pallium in Cashel, and particularly it was in spite of the church of Ard Macha and the church of Dun da Leathghlas that other pallia were given besides one to Ard Macha and one to Cashel, as the old book of annals of the church of Cluain Eidneach in Laoighis, which gives a summary of the transactions of this council, explains the matter.

Now, when the council met in session they made praiseworthy regulations and customs on the occasion of the giving of these four pallia. Here follow the words of the old book of chronicles which was written in Cluain Eidhneach Fionntain in Laoighis.

In the year 1152 from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, being a bissextile and embolismal year, a famous council was held at Ceanannus in the season of spring about the time of "Laetare Jerusalem" Sunday, in which Lord John Cardinal Priest of St. Lawrence in Damascus, presiding over twenty-two bishops and five bishops elect, and over many abbots and priors, on behalf of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Apostolic Lord Eugenius, entirely rooted out and condemned simony and usury, and commanded by Apostolic authority the payment of tithes. He gave four pallia to the four archbishops of Ireland, to wit, to those of Dublin, Cashel, Tuaim and Ard Macha. Moreover, he appointed the archbishop of Ard Macha as primate over the other bishops as was meet.



prout decuit ordinavit. Qui etiam Ioannes Cardinalis  
 4930 protinus post peractum Concilium iter arripuit et nono  
 Kalendas Aprilis transfretavit. Hi sunt episcopi qui  
 huic Concilio interfuerunt .i. Siolla Cníort Ó Con-  
 aince earpog leapa móir, leasáio an pápa i néirinn;  
 Siolla mac lias comorba pápaig i r pñiomáio éiréann;  
 4935 Domnall Ó Longargáin aipoearpog Mumán; Spéine  
 earpog áta Cliaé; Siolla na Naom laigheac earpog  
 Glinne dá loé; Dúngal Ó Caolluioe earpog leir-  
 glinne; Toirtur earpog pñit lairge; Domnall Ó  
 Fogaicéig biocáine geneapálta earpuig Orpuige; Fionn  
 4940 mac Cianáin earpog Cille Dara: Siolla an Coiméad  
 Ó hApmáoil, biocáine earpuig imlig; Siolla Aoua  
 Ó Maigin, earpog Corcaige; Mac Rónáin comorba  
 bñéanainn earpog Ciarráioe; Toirgetur earpog  
 Luimniú; Muircearic Ó Maoilíoir earpog Cluana Mic  
 4945 Nóir; Maoilíora Ó Connaéctáin earpog oiréir Connaéct;  
 Ua Ruodáin earpog Luigne; Mac Craic Ó Mugróin earpog  
 Conmaicne; Etmar Ó Míouéáin earpog Cluana hIorairio;  
 Tuatál Ó Connaéctáig earpog Ó mbhuin; Muiréadac Ó  
 Cobtaig earpog Cínéil nEogain; Maoilpápaig Ó bAnáin  
 4950 earpog Dál nApuioe; Maoilíora mac an Cléirig Cuirr  
 earpog Ulaó. i bñio nóin Máirta vo forbad an  
 reanaó-ro, mar ar ceartuiúeac i r mar ar horuúigead  
 earpogóiréacá éiréann.

Iar gñioénuúad na comairle rin fuair Domnall Ó  
 4955 Longargáin, aipoearpog Mumán bár; asur realao aim-  
 rípe dá éir rin fuair Muircearic mac Néill vo bí  
 as gabáil céannair leiré Cuinn i r uphóir éiréann an  
 tan roin bár—a marbad lé fearaib fearmáige asur  
 leir Ó mbhuin, amail aoubnamar éuar.

And this Cardinal John, immediately after the council was over, took his departure, and on the ninth of the calends of April set sail. The following are the bishops who were present at this council, to wit, Giolla Criost O Conairce, bishop of Lios Mor and legate of the Pope in Ireland; Giolla Mac Liag, comhorba of Patrick and primate of Ireland; Domhnall O Longargain, archbishop of Munster; Greine, bishop of Ath Cliath; Giolla na Naomh Laigneach, bishop of Gleann da Loch; Dunghal O Caolluidhe, bishop of Leithglinn; Tostius, bishop of Port Lairge; Domhnall O Foghartaigh, vicar-general to the bishop of Osruighe; Fionn, son of Cianan, bishop of Cill Dara; Giolla an Choimdheadh O hArdmhaoil, vicar to the bishop of Imleach; Giolla Aodha O Maighin, bishop of Corcach; Mac Ronain, comhorba of Breanainn, bishop of Ciarraidhe; Torgestius,<sup>1</sup> bishop of Luimneach; Muircheartach O Maoilidhir, bishop of Cluain Mic Nois; Maoiliosa O Connachtain, bishop of East Connaught; Ua Rudain, bishop of Luighne; Mac Craith O Mugroin, bishop of Conmhaicne; Etras O Miadhchain, bishop of Cluain hIoraird; Tuathal O Connachtaigh, bishop of Ui Briuin; Mureadhach O Cobhthaigh, bishop of Cineal Eoghain; Maolpadraig O Banain, bishop of Dal nAruidhe; Maoiliosa Mac an Chleirigh Chuirr, bishop of Ulidia. On the day before the Nones of March this synod closed in which the bishoprics of Ireland were set in order and determined.

After this council had concluded Domhnall O Longargain, archbishop of Munster, died, and some time after this Muircheartach, son of Niall, who was in the sovereignty of Leath Cuinn and of the greater part of Ireland at that time, died, having been slain by the men of Fearnmhagh and by O Briuin, as we have said above.



## XXX.

4960 Do fáb Ruaidrí Ó Concubair ceannar Connaët ir  
 uimóirí leite Cuinn, do bhríð sup fiall ní Oirgiall ní  
 Míde ir ní bhréifne dó, agus fór fahimtear ní éireann  
 uile óe ran feanúr. Fídeo ní maibe aét ní go bhréar-  
 abha ann, mar atá ní ag a maibe móran o'uairlib  
 4965 éireann ag cup 'n-a aghaíó fá flaitéar éireann do  
 beit 'n-a feilb. Agus ir pé linn Ruaidrí Uí Concubair  
 do beit i gceannar mar rin do éuir bean Tígearnán  
 Éadú Uí Ruairc (Dearbforfaiill fá hainm ói ir fá hingean  
 do Múrcad mac Floinn ní Míde i, agus noéar b'i bean  
 4970 ríog Míde i, aithail aveyr Cambrien) teácta ór íreal go  
 Óiarmaid Mac Múrcad agha iarraidó air teáct 'n-a coinne  
 féin ua bheit leir ó Tígearnán mar mnaoi dó féin, agus  
 aubhairt nár na teáctuib a noéad do Óiarmaid go  
 noeacaid Tígearnán ar tuar go huaim Purgadóra  
 4975 Páorais, agus mar rin go bfuigheadó reirean uain ir  
 uaignear ar i féin do bheit leir i laighnib. Do bi  
 iomoirio cumann míhéine eatorra pé cian do bliadnab  
 poime rin.

Dála Óiarmaid ar noétain na rcéal roin éirge,  
 4980 triallair go héarcadó o'fíor na mná go rluagbuidin  
 marcad 'n-a foéair; agus ar noétain mar a maibe an  
 bean oó, tug fá deara a tógbail ar cúlaib marcais;  
 agus leir rin guilir ir rceadair an bean go cealgaé,  
 mar supab ar éigin oo-béarad Óiarmaid leir i; agus  
 4985 cillir lé mar rin go laighnib tar a air. Ioméura Tí-  
 gearnán, iar otiéacé tar air von bhréifne dó, ir iar  
 n-a élor supab oá haimóeoin rugad a bean uaid, éag-  
 caomir an ainbeart roin lé Ruaidrí Ó Concubair ir lé  
 n-a éairuib ar éana.



## XXX.

Ruaidhri O Conchubhair assumed the sovereignty of Connaught and the greater part of Leath Cuinn, because the king of Oirghiall, the king of Meath and the king of Breithfne submitted to him, and, moreover, he is called king of Ireland in the seanchus. Still he was only a king with opposition, that is, a king to whose possession of the sovereignty of Ireland a great many of the Irish nobles were opposed. And it was while Ruaidhri reigned in this manner that the wife of Tighearnan Caoch O Ruairc (Dearbhforgaill was her name, and she was daughter to Murchadh Mac Floinn, king of Meath, and not wife of the king of Meath as Cambrensis says) sent messengers in secret to Diarmaid Mac Murchadha asking him to come to meet her and take her with him as his wife from Tighearnan; and she told the messengers to make known to Diarmaid that Tighearnan had gone on a pilgrimage to the cave of Patrick's Purgatory, and that, therefore, he would have an opportunity of quietly carrying her with him to Leinster. There had been indeed an illicit attachment between them for many years previously.

As to Diarmaid, when this message reached him he went quickly to meet the lady, accompanied by a detachment of mounted men, and when they reached where she was, he ordered that she be placed on horseback behind a rider, and upon this the woman wept and screamed in pretence, as if Diarmaid were carrying her off by force; and bringing her with him in this manner, he returned to Leinster. As to Tighearnan, when he returned to Breithfne and heard that it was against her consent his wife was taken from him, he made a complaint of this outrage to Ruaidhri O Conchubhair and to his friends in general.

4990 Cuirir Ruaidrí leir rin cruinniuḡaḡ ar fearaid Ćonn-  
aċt, b'réirne Oirḡialla ir Míde, aḡur triallair do lot  
Laiḡean ḡo fluag líonmar maille iur i noioḡail an mí-  
ḡníoma roin do iunne Diaimaid.

Ar n-a élor do Ódiarmaid Ruaidrí do beir aḡ teacċ  
4995 do lot Laiḡean, cuirir cruinniuḡaḡ ir coimċionól ar  
uairlib Laiḡean ar ḡaċ leir, aḡur ar noċtain ḡo haon-  
láċair oíib, do b'é a b'fearḡa ar Ódiarmaid naċ maċdaoir  
do fearaí an míḡníoma do iunne reirlean; aḡur leir rin  
do éiríḡadair móran oíob é, aḡur do éadair ar comairce  
5000 Ruaidrí, ir noċtair do ḡurab ioma éaḡcór ir ainolḡe  
do iunne Diaimaid iomhe rin orra.

Mar naċ maibe Diaimaid líon caḡuḡte mé Ruaidrí  
leir rin tug Ruaidrí uċt ar an méir do ḡaċ lé Dia-  
maid do Laiḡuib do lot ir téir iomhe ḡo feara ḡur  
5005 éirair teacċ Diaimaid, ir ḡur b'ur a oún ir ḡur  
oíbir a héirinn uile é. aḡur triallair Diaimaid ḡur  
an daira Henrí ní Saċran, do bí ran b'fearḡa an triac  
roin; aḡur ar noċtain do láċair an ríoḡ oó, fáilcḡir an  
ní iomhe ir do iunne ioma muinntearḡair iur; aḡur an  
5010 tan do noċt fáċ a éurair von ríḡ, reirḡair an ní leirreāa  
cáirdeamla leir i Saċraib mar a otug ceat do ḡaċ don  
léir b'fearḡa teacċ do neartuḡaḡ leir i néirinn do buain  
a éirce féin amaċ. Ceileabhair Diaimaid leir rin von  
ríḡ, ir triallair i Saċraib ḡo ráinḡ b'mortoe, ir tug fá  
5015 deara a leirre do léaḡaḡ ḡo puiblie ann rin, aḡur  
do ḡeall cairḡiona móra von oruḡ do éocfaḡ leir i  
néirinn do buain a éirce féin amaċ.

Ir annrin carla Rirteair Mac ḡilbeir mic Iarla  
Scianguell air, ir do éangail conḡraḡ iur, mar aċá a  
5020 inḡean féin .i. Doirfe inḡean Diaimaid do cábairt 'n-a  
mnaoi oó, ir oirreacċ Laiḡean iur an inḡin i noirā a  
bair féin, aḡur o'fíacāib ar Rirteair teacċ 'n-a oíar i



Upon this Ruaidhri made a muster of the men of Connaught, Breithfne, Oirghialla and Meath, and set out with a large host to waste Leinster to avenge this evil deed Diarmaid had done.

When Diarmaid heard that Ruaidhri was marching to waste Leinster, he assembled and brought together the nobles of Leinster from all sides, and when they came to one place their answer to Diarmaid was that they would not go to defend the evil deed he had done, and thereupon many of them deserted him and put themselves under the protection of Ruaidhri, and made known to him that Diarmaid before that time had committed many acts of injustice and tyranny against them.

As Diarmaid was not strong enough to fight Ruaidhri, the latter set about spoiling the territories of all the Leinstermen who sided with Diarmaid; and he went on to Farna and levelled Diarmaid's house, and broke his fortress, and banished him out of Ireland altogether. And Diarmaid went to Henry II., king of England, who was then in France; and when he had come into the king's presence, the latter welcomed him and showed him much friendship; and when he made known to the king the cause of his visit, the king wrote friendly letters to be taken by him to England, in which he gave permission to all who so wished to go with him to Ireland to help him to recover his own territory. Diarmaid, on this, bade farewell to the king, and proceeding to England arrived at Bristol, and caused his letters to be read there publicly; and he made large promises to those who would go with him to Ireland to recover his own territory.

It was there he met Richard Fitz Gilbert, son of earl Stranguell; and he made a compact with him, to wit, to give his own daughter, that is, Aoife, daughter of Diarmaid, to wife to him, and with her the inheritance of Leinster after his own death, Richard to be obliged to follow him



Éirínn do buain a éiríce amac dó. Ar gceangal ar na  
 heactaib rin dóib, triallair Diarmaid go bneatain go  
 5025 ppuionnra do bí ann uar b'ainm Raph Spuffin do bí i  
 gceannar na cpiíce pán piğ henpi, ip noctair a táil  
 dó. Tarla an uair rin uaine uaral arpaétae oirbeartaé  
 uar b'ainm Roibeairt mac Stiabna i bpiíorún ag an  
 bpuionnra roin tré mipeiri an pioğ do déanaim, ip ní paise  
 5030 oáil éabpa 'n-a éionn aét muna ngabao pié a air triall i  
 nÉirínn do éabairt neirt a láime lé Mac Mupéada pié  
 buain a éiríce amac dó. Agur ar n-a élor u'earpog S.  
 Oáibíó ip do Muirir Mac Seapailt go otáinig Mac Mupéada  
 u'fiór an ppuionnra roin pié hiarraio Roibeirto Mic  
 5035 Stiabna ar an mbiaigoeanar 'n-a paise, tángadair pēin  
 do éur impióe mar an gceadna air pá paoileao do  
 Roibeairt, ip pá n-a léigean lé Mac Mupéada i nÉirínn.  
 Clann donmáetar iomopio an t-earpog roin ip Roibeairt  
 Mac Stiabna ip Muirir Mac Seapailt.

5040 Léigir triá an ppuionnra Roibeairt amac ar eact go  
 leanpaó Mac Mupéada i nÉirínn an rampaó ba neapa dó.  
 Geallair Diarmaid von leit oile loc Seapman ip an oá  
 triúca céao pá goipe ói, mar uútaig óilir go bpaé do  
 Roibeairt Mac Stiabna tré éeact do éongnam leir i  
 5045 n-agair a earcapao; agur i noiaio an éeangail rin do  
 uéanaim, ceileabhair Diarmaid von opuing rin ip triallair  
 taoib pié beagán buíone go hÉirínn. Ar poctain i otir  
 dó, mar a paise iomao earcapao ip teirce capao aige, tig  
 ór íreal go Fearna Mói Máoóóg ar úíoean cléipe ip  
 5050 comtíonóil Fearna; agur do bí go tubae deapóil 'n-a  
 bfoéair pēao na haimpíe rin go teact von trampao.

Oála Roibeirto mic Stiabna táinig do éomall a  
 geallao do Mac Mupéada, agur ip é líon pluag táinig  
 leir i nÉirínn trióao mupíeao ip tri píeo puihéir ip tri  
 5055 céao triogteae; agur ip é áit ar gabadair típi i gCuan an  
 Bainb i n-imeall éontae loca Seapman éar, ran áit pié

to Ireland to recover his territory for him. After they had made a compact on these conditions, Diarmaid went to Wales to a prince who was there called Ralph Griffin, who ruled the country under king Henry, and made his case known to him. At that time the prince kept in prison a powerful nobleman of great achievements called Robert Fitz Stephen, for having disobeyed the king, and there was no relief forthcoming to him unless he chose to go to Ireland to aid Mac Murchadha by the strength of his arm in the recovery of his territory. And when the bishop of St. David's and Maurice Fitz Gerald heard that Mac Murchadha had visited this prince requesting him to free Robert Fitz Stephen from his captivity, they themselves came to request him in like manner to set Robert at liberty, and let him go to Ireland with Mac Murchadha. Now that bishop and Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitz Gerald were uterine brothers.

The prince then released Robert on condition that he would follow Mac Murchadha to Ireland the next summer. Diarmaid, on the other side, promised Robert Fitz Stephen Loch Garman and the two cantreds next it, as his property for ever, in return for his coming to help him to fight his enemy; and after this compact was made, Diarmaid bade farewell to these people and proceeded with only a small force to Ireland. Having landed in a place where he had many enemies and few friends, he went secretly to Fearná Mor Maodhog, putting himself under the protection of the clergy and community of Fearná; and he stayed with them sad and wretched during the time that elapsed until the coming of summer.

As to Robert Fitz Stephen he came to fulfil his promise to Mac Murchadha, and the number of the host that came with him to Ireland was thirty knights, three score esquires and three hundred foot; and the place where they landed was at Cuan an Bhainbh on the south coast of the County



ráirítear beas an bun, agus fá hí doir an tigeapna an  
 tan roin 1170, agus an feachtmaó bliadóin do flaitear  
 Ruaidrí Uí Conchubair. Do bí fóir muirne ppiionnapálda  
 5060 i bpoéair Roibeir mic Stiabhna an tan roin, mar atá  
 heirimont Morci muirne do muinntir iarla o' Stianguell  
 do cuir poime i néirinn do mear na tíre; agus ar noctain  
 i oírí uóib ann rin, cuir Roibeir pceála go Diarmaid  
 do noctaó uó é féin do éaét i néirinn.

5065 Ar n-a élor rin do Diarmaid, do gab lútgáir é, agus  
 réir cúis céad laoc 'n-a scoinne, agus ar noctain i scoim-  
 óail a céile uóib, triallair o'doncomairle o'ionnruige  
 loéa harman do buain amac; agus ar oirgeaét i ngar von  
 baile uóib, ir i comairle ar ar cinnead leir na buirgeirib  
 5070 gilla do Diarmaid ir ceairar o'uarlib an baile do  
 éabairt i ngiall mé comall ríoda uó agus uíol cíora ir  
 cánaéair, ir mé beir uíal mar éigeapna uó. Ir ann rin  
 iomuir do bionn Diarmaid loé harman ir an dá éirúca  
 céad do b'foigre uó do Roibeir mac Stiabhna, agus do  
 5075 bionn fóir an dá éirúca céad do b'foigre uóib rin arir  
 do heirimont Morci do méir an gellaim tug uóib i  
 mbeactain; agus iar scoimlíona do gellaim rin, do  
 cuir Diarmaid cruinnuiga ar a muinntir féin ir na  
 gallair go haonlátair; agus ir é lion rluas do bádar  
 5080 ann trí míle fear uir gaeóal ir gall, agus triallair  
 o'doinméir ar rin o'arigain ir do éreacáó Orruige; agus ir  
 é fá ní ar Orruigib an tan roin Donnacá mac Donnairll  
 Reamair, bíóubair bunair do Diarmaid, agus mar páng-  
 avar do lot Orruige ir gan cornam ag Donnacá air féin,  
 5085 ir i comairle ar ar éinn féin ir maite a uúitce géill do  
 éabairt uó mé uíol airóíora uir; agus mar rin do coirceáó  
 Diarmaid ó lot na críce.

Mar do éualavar trá uairle éireann tigeaét Diar-  
 maí ir na ngall roin, ir gab áitear uair éirig leo, do



of Loch Garman in the place which is called Baginbun, and it was then the year of the Lord 1170, and the seventh year of the reign of Ruaidhri O Conchubhair. There was also a distinguished knight with Robert Fitz Stephen at that time, to wit, Herimont Morti, a knight of the party of the earl of Stranguell, whom he sent before him to Ireland to study the country, and when they landed Robert sent word to Diarmaid to make it known to him that he had arrived in Ireland.

When Diarmaid heard this he rejoiced, and went to meet them with five hundred warriors; and when they had come together they proceeded by agreement to attack Loch Garman with a view to getting possession of it; and when they were approaching the town, the burgesses came to the decision of submitting to Diarmaid, and of giving him four of the nobles of the town as hostages for their maintaining peace and paying him rent and tribute and for their being obedient to him as their lord. It was then that Diarmaid bestowed Loch Garman and the two cantreds next it on Robert Fitz Stephen, and, moreover, he bestowed the two cantreds next again to these on Herimont Morti, according to the promise he had made them in Wales; and after he had fulfilled this promise Diarmaid assembled his own people and the foreigners to one place; and the number of the host that assembled there was three thousand men, counting Gaels and foreigners; and they proceeded thence of one accord to plunder and spoil Osruighe; and the king of Osruighe at that time was Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Reamhar, an inveterate enemy of Diarmaid, and as they had come to waste Osruighe, while Donnchadh could not defend himself, he, with the nobles of his country, decided to give Diarmaid hostages for the payment to him of head rent; and thus Diarmaid was prevented from wasting the country.

Now when the nobles of Ireland heard of the arrival of Diarmaid and of these foreigners and of all the successes

- 5090 éasodar vo éinneasó comairle pé Ruaidrí Ó Concéubair ní  
 Connacht vo gáb bairántar éireann pé a air an trác roin;  
 agus ir easó vo commóras leo consnam fhuais vo tabairt  
 ar gac cúigeasó i néirinn vó; agus ar gceunniugasó na  
 fhuas roin ar donládar, triallair Ruaidrí leo go hUib  
 5095 Scinnrealaig, i n-uóig pé tairann Óiarmaid ir na nGall  
 a héirinn; agus mar páinis Ruaidrí go laiginib, vo éuasó  
 Óiarmaid ir na Gall ir an méir vo lean vo laiginib é, i  
 scoilltib daingne daidairie láim pé Fearna Mór Maodóg  
 va noidean féin ar antrom fhuas Ruaidrí. Mar vo  
 5100 connairic iomorro Ruaidrí nac padasdar ar tí casá vo  
 ffrearal vó, vo éuir teacá go Roibeair mac Stiabhna 'ga  
 iarraio air an tír vo fágáil agus nac paibe ceart ná  
 vútcar aige ar beir mnte doudairt Roibeair as ffreasrao  
 vo na teacáib, nac tréigreasó an tigeairna lé a vóainis i  
 5105 néirinn. Tillir trá na teacá leir na rcealaib rin go  
 Ruaidrí, agus ar n-a gclor vó, ir fóir ar n-a élor vó nac  
 tréigreasó Mac Muiréada na Gall ar doncor, vo éuir  
 poime lingasó lion fhuais ir fochar ar Óiarmaid ir ar  
 na Gallair vo bi 'n-a fochar va milleasó ir va mio-  
 5110 éorugasó.

Mar vo connasdar clair laigean an éirio i mbaogal  
 a millte ir a mioóirugte ón rparin rin vo-nio vóeall ar  
 ríot vo tairaing roir Ruaidrí ir Óiarmaid. agus ir  
 amlaio vo críochnuigasó an trío roin eatorra .i. Cúigeasó  
 5115 laigin vo léigeadó vo Óiarmaid, amlaí pá vútcar vó; agus  
 v'fiasaib ar Óiarmaid umla ir vóirle vo coméas vo  
 Ruaidrí amlaí pá vual vo gac níg va mbioó ar laiginib  
 vo véanam vo mioğair éireann; agus i ngeall pé comall  
 na ríotcána roin, tug Óiarmaid mac vó féin var b'ainm  
 5120 ar 'n-a gíall vo Ruaidrí. Vo gíall fóir Ruaidrí a fúir  
 féin vo tabairt 'n-a mnaoi vo Óiarmaid; agus ar na



they had met with, they went to take counsel with Ruaidhri O Conchubhair, king of Connaught, who then held the sovereignty of Ireland; and what they agreed upon was to give him an auxiliary force from every province of Ireland; and when these forces had assembled in one place Ruaidhri marched with them to Ui Cinnsealaigh in the hope of driving Diarmaid and the foreigners from Ireland; and when Ruaidhri went into Leinster, Diarmaid and the foreigners, and as many of the Leinstermen as followed him, went into the dark fastnesses of the woods near Fearna Mor Maodhog to shield themselves from the great force of Ruaidhri's hosts. But as Ruaidhri saw that they were not going to give him battle he sent envoys to Robert Fitz Stephen asking him to quit the country, saying that he had neither right nor hereditary claim to be in it. Robert said, in reply to the envoys, that he would not desert the lord with whom he had come to Ireland. The envoys returned with this answer to Ruaidhri, and when he heard it, and heard also that Mac Murchadha would not on any account forsake the foreigners, he resolved to make a sudden attack with all his forces regular and contingent on Diarmaid and the foreigners and upset and destroy them.

When the Leinster clergy saw that the country was in danger of being thrown into disorder and destroyed by this conflict, they did their best to bring about peace between Ruaidhri and Diarmaid; and these were the terms in which this peace was concluded, to wit, Diarmaid to have the province of Leinster which he had inherited, and to be obliged to be obedient and faithful to Ruaidhri, as every king of Leinster was bound to be to the kings of Ireland, and in pledge for the fulfilling of the terms of this peace Diarmaid gave one of his sons named Art to Ruaidhri as a hostage. Moreover Ruaidhri promised to give his own sister to Diarmaid to wife; and on these terms they



headtaibh rin vo rcarrao go rioðac mé céile: áit amáin sur  
 geall Diairmair vo Ruaidrí gan ní ba mhó vo na Gallaidh  
 vo tabairt i nÉirinn. Agus go ghuo va éir rin cáinigh  
 5125 Muirir mac Gearailt i gcúir an trairraio go hÉirinn vo  
 réir an geallaim tuos vo Mac Muiréada, agus fóir vo éionn  
 na cumha vo geall Mac Muiréada uó féin ir vo Roibeairt  
 mac Sciaðna an rógmair roime rin tré teact vo congnaim  
 leir i nÉirinn vo buain a éiríe féin amac. Agus ir é  
 5130 lion rluaidh cáinigh lé Muirir i nÉirinn an tan roin, veic-  
 neabair roirneao tríoao rcaibéir ir céao tríoigeac. Agus  
 ir é ionao ar gabaoar cuan as Loé Garman.

## XXXI.

Ar n-a élor vo Mac Muiréada ir vo Roibeairt mac  
 Sciaðna Muirir vo éiríeac i nÉirinn, vo éuaoar 'n-a éoinne  
 5135 go Loé Garman; agus ir ann rin vo éuimigh Mac Muiréada  
 ar gac ainolige va noearrao luét áta Cliaé air féin ir  
 ar a áair roime. Uime rin vo éionóil Mac Muiréada an  
 rluaidh roin mé uil o'airgaoin áta Cliaé, ir vo fágaio  
 Roibeairt Mac Sciaðna as cógáil éairléin ran ionao  
 5140 oairb ainm an éairiaigh anoir .i. oá míle ó Loé Garman  
 amac; agus triallair Mac Muiréada ir Muirir mac  
 Gearailt ir uimóir na nGall roin mar don muú go Fine  
 Gall, sur hairgeao ir sur loirceao an éiríe roin leo.

Ar n-a élor ionoirio vo buirgírib áta Cliaé sur  
 5145 hairgeao ir sur cneao an éiríe 'n-a oimceall, vo  
 éuaoar i gcomairle eatorra féin, agus ir é ní ar ar  
 cinneao leo roiríe ionóda ir tríoilaicte trioma o'oir ir  
 o'airgeao vo éur go Mac Muiréada vo éionn rioða ir  
 péiríe o'fagaíl uaid; agus vo éuirceaoar bairíge éuríe  
 5150 mar don muir an ionnmuir roin tar míraib an baile amac;

separated from one another in peace; but Diarmaid promised Ruaidhri not to bring any more of the foreigners to Ireland; and soon after this Maurice Fitz Gerald came to Ireland in the beginning of the summer according to the promise he had given to Mac Murchadha, and also because of the reward which Mac Murchadha had promised to himself and to Robert Fitz Stephen the previous autumn on condition of their coming to Ireland to help him to recover his own territory; and the number of the hosts who came with Maurice on that occasion was ten knights, thirty esquires and one hundred foot, and the place where they landed was at Loch Garman.

### XXXI.

When Mac Murchadha and Robert Fitz Stephen heard that Maurice had come to Ireland, they went to meet him to Loch Garman; and it was then Mac Murchadha called to mind all the outrages that the people of Ath Cliath had committed on himself and on his father before him. Accordingly Mac Murchadha brought together this host with a view to marching to plunder Ath Cliath, and he left Robert Fitz Stephen building a fortress in the place which is now called Carrick, which is two miles outside of Loch Garman, and Mac Murchadha and Maurice Fitz Gerald with the majority of these foreigners proceeded to Fine Ghall, and they plundered and burned that country.

Now when the burgesses of Ath Cliath heard that the country round them was plundered and spoiled, they took counsel together, and the decision they came to was to send valuables and large presents of gold and silver to Mac Murchadha with a view to obtaining peace and a settlement from him, and with these treasures they sent him hostages over the walls of the town, and they promised

asur do gheallavar go dtiubhairtí fad ceart ir fad  
uallgar da raibe as Mac Mupéada oirra poime rin do.

Óo éonhairc Mac Mupéada iomorro fad ní var éur  
poime as teact leir, do rnuain 'n-a meannmain aige féin  
5155 go raibe míogact éireann as a rinnfeairib poime .i.  
Caideoir Mór, Concubair Abraúruad, Labruir loingreac,  
laoghair leir ir uaine Mór ir fad mí oile var fad  
flaitear éireann vob poime, asur duubairt nar b'feair  
neart ná cumar fad míog oile vob roin ar éirinn do  
5160 éorname ioná a neart féin. Uime rin beirir Mac Mupéada,  
Muirir Mac Gearailt ir Roibeiro Mac Stiabhna i b'fó  
fá leir rir, gur léig a rún mí fán gcúir rin, asur do iarr  
comhairle oirra creao do b'invéanta do. Do fneadhairro  
i n-aoinefad é, asur ir ead duubairt, go maó urra do  
5165 an ní rin do ériocnuad ná maó áil leir teacta do éur  
uair ar ceann tuillead daoine go Sacraib. Tairir rin  
do ráir Mac Mupéada mí-ran teacta do éur uata féin ar  
ceann a n'aoil ir a fcomhairle asur duubairt go  
dtiubairt a ingean féin 'n-a mnaoi do Muirir Mac Gear-  
5170 ailt nó do Roibeiro Mac Stiabhna, gibe aca do-béairt  
i, asur a tigeairtar ó n-a lá féin amac. Fidead níor faom  
ceactar vob an ingean do glacad, óir do éimnig Muirir  
Mac Gearailt ir Roibeiro Mac Stiabhna gur gell Mac  
Mupéada an ingean roin v'iarla o' Stranguell ir míogact  
5175 laigean lé, do éionn a neart do tabairt leir mé buain a  
vúitce amac do; asur do iarr Muirir ir Roibeiro ar  
Mac Mupéada leir do éur gur an iarla 'ga iarrairt air  
teact do péir an gellairt tug do i Sacraib, "asur foill-  
rig vó," ar riar, "go bfuile féin i mbun do gellairt do  
5180 comall vó-ran, maille pé t'ingean féin do tabairt 'n-a  
mnaoi vó, ir míogact laigean do lá féin amac; asur fof  
na ceirte ranna nac fuil agat v'éirinn, foillrig vó go  
bfuil rúil agat mé a mbeir fá éirir ir fá uila vuit."



to pay Mac Murchadha all claims and dues they owed him up to then.

Now when Mac Murchadha saw that he was succeeding in all his undertakings, he reflected in his mind that his ancestors before him possessed the sovereignty of Ireland, to wit, Cathaoir Mor, Conchubhar Abhradhruadh, Labhruidh Loingseach, Laoghaire Lorc, and Ughaine Mor and every other king of that race that had held the sovereignty of Ireland before him, and he said to himself that the strength or might of all these kings to hold Ireland was not greater than his own. Hence Mac Murchadha took Maurice Fitz Gerald and Robert Fitz Stephen aside and unfolded to them his design in this matter and asked their advice as to what he should do. They answered him with one voice, and said it would be very easy for him to carry out this design were he to send envoys to England to ask for more men ; however Mac Murchadha asked them to send envoys from themselves inviting their kinsmen and friends ; and he promised to give his own daughter to wife to Maurice Fitz Gerald or to Robert Fitz Stephen, whichever of them would accept her, and his principedom from his own death onwards. But neither of them consented to accept her, for both remembered that Mac Murchadha had promised that lady and the sovereignty of Leinster with her to the earl of Stranguell in return for his bringing with him his forces to recover his patrimony for him ; and Maurice and Robert requested Mac Murchadha to send a letter to the earl requesting him to come over in fulfilment of the promise he had made him in England, " and make known to him," added they, " that thou art ready to fulfil thy promise to him, and will give him thy daughter to wife and the sovereignty of Leinster from thy death on ; and, moreover, as to the four divisions of Ireland that thou dost not possess, make known to him that thou hast hopes of their becoming subject and paying rent to thee."

Cuirítear teascta i'f leitheada lé Mac Muiréada go  
 5185 hialla o' Stranguell ar an gcúir rin, agus ar poctain vo  
 na teasctaib 'n-a látair i'f ar léagad na leithead vó, i'f fór  
 ar gclor an neirt vo gab Mac Muiréada i'f Roibeard Mac  
 Stiabna i'f Muirir Mac Gearailt i nÉirinn, triallair féin  
 go hairm a maibé ní Sacran, i'f vo iairi ceao air teasct vo  
 5190 véanaim gabáltair cibé áit a raimnteoat vól. Siúeao  
 an tan vo tuis an ní meanma i'f inntinn an iarla ní tuis  
 aonta iomlán vó i'f ní mó vo tuis éara air. Áct éana  
 vo gluar an t-iarla leir an gceao fuair, agus vo gab  
 ag a ollmuagad féin i'f ag ollmuagad a muinntire pé teasct  
 5195 i nÉirinn vóib; agus ról ráinig air féin beit ollam pé  
 teasct ran tuar rom vo éuir Réamonn le Spór mac  
 Uilliam Mic Gearailt, vearbriatair ba rine ioná Muirir  
 Mac Gearailt, go rluagbuidin leir iomne féin i nÉirinn;  
 agus ar poctain na críce vó, i'f é áit ar gab cuan ag Oún  
 5200 Domnaill, ceitire míle ó Róit Laigne buo veat; agus vo  
 péir éioinic Stanihuirt, fá hí nuimí a muinntire veic-  
 neadair iuripeao i'f veicneadair i'f trí fiéio troigthead.  
 Agus ar otigeadt i otir vóib vo tógadair roit vaignean  
 cloc i'f cruat ran ionat rom.

5205 Ar poctain iomorroí reéal go Róit Laigne i'f go  
 Maoilreáclainn Ó b'faolain, ní na nDéire, go vtangadair  
 na Gail rin i gcomfogur vóib, vo gab Spáin i'f eagla  
 iao uile iompa, i'f vo éuadair go haonlátair vo éinneao  
 éomairle rán gcúir rin, agus vo b'i críoc a gcomairle  
 5210 na veorair v'ionnruige gur an longróit i rabadair, i'f a  
 marbad i'f a míocóruagad.

Vá éir rin tångadair go haonlátair, i'f vo b'é a lion  
 trí míle fear ag vól v'ionnruige na nGail rom. Ar n-a  
 b'fuirin vo Réamonn éuige, vo éuair amac go meair  
 5215 micéillíre leir an mbeagán buirne vo bí aige i gcomúail



Mac Murchadha sent envoys and letters to the earl of Stranguell in reference to this affair, and when the envoys had come into his presence and he had read the letters, and when, moreover, he had heard of the conquests Mac Murchadha and Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitz Gerald had made in Ireland, he went to where the king of England was, and asked leave of him to go and make conquests wherever he liked. But when the king understood the mind and intention of the earl, he did not give him full consent, neither did he give him a refusal. But the earl went away with the permission he had got, and he got himself and his followers ready to go to Ireland, and before he could himself get ready to go on this expedition he sent Raymond le Gros, son of William Fitz Gerald, an elder brother of Maurice Fitz Gerald, with an armed party before him to Ireland, and on reaching that country the place where he put into port was Dun Domhnaill, four miles south of Port Lairge; and according to the chronicle of Stanihurst the number of his followers was ten knights and seventy foot. And when they had landed they built a strong embankment of stones and clay in that place.

Now when news reached Port Lairge and Maoilseachlainn O Faolain, king of the Deise, that these foreigners had arrived in their neighbourhood, they were all seized with hatred and fear of them, and they came to one place to take counsel in reference to this matter, and the decision they came to was to attack the strangers in the stronghold in which they were, and to slaughter and destroy them.

After this they came (with their forces) to one place, and their number was three thousand men when going to oppose these foreigners. When Raymond saw them approach him he went out quickly and unwisely with his small party to meet that large host with a view to



an t-rompfluaig rin, do tabairt triosa i r teagmhála dóib. An tan iomorro atéonnairc Réamonn naé paibe ion-  
 buailte mui, do éuaró ar gcúlai b gur an gcairléan do  
 tógai b ré féin. Óo éonncaotar na Gaedil na Gaill as  
 5220 iompóú, do leanadar go dian dáraéacé iad gur an gcair-  
 léan; gíreao an tan do meaf Réamonn ve la Gíór a  
 eafcairve 'n-a óiaró go dána do iompuió oirra i r tug ár  
 vo-fairnéire ar an t-rompfluaig roin na nGaedail, ionnur  
 i n-éagmar ar marb ré óioib gur loiteao i r gur cneáct-  
 5225 nui geadó cúig céao óioib leir ré halt na haonuarie.

Ar tceadé iomorro na Féile Paricéolóin ran bfoigmar  
 'n-a óiaró rin, Anno Domini 1170, táinig iarla o' Strangu-  
 uell i néirinn, agus do b'é lion a fluaig as ceadé do .i.  
 dá céao mui r i r mile do rcaibéarai b i r do luét boíga i r  
 5230 da gac noruing ré gaircú; agus i r é ionao ar gabadar  
 cuan i bpoit lairge. Ar n-a élor iomorro ar feao na  
 crúce go tóainig iarla o' Stranguell i néirinn, táinig Mac  
 Muiéada go maiéib laigean i r Roibearo Mac Stiabna i r  
 Muirir Mac Gearailt i r Réamonn ve la Gíór i gcoinne  
 5235 i r i gcomóail an iarla go lútgairéac láinmeanmaé, agus  
 ar n-a máraé do éuadar o' doinméin do gabail púirt  
 lairge; agus an tan rángadar gur an mbailé tugadar a  
 n-aigé i n-doinfeadé ar da baint amaé i r da éur ar a  
 gcumar féin; agus tar gac olc i r tar gac imfníom da  
 5240 bfuadar muintear an baile do gcoméao féin i r da  
 gcornam, do lingeadar oirra tar múrai b an baile, i r do  
 marbrat gac a tóarla mui do luét an baile, agus do  
 gabao Maoilreacélaínn Ó Faoláin, ní na nDéire, leo, agus  
 i r tpe imríde Mic Muiéada tugao a anam do.

5245 Tug céana Mac Muiéada a ingean leir i gcoinne an  
 iarla an trát roin, doiré a hainm, agus do póraó mui f,  
 agus ar n-daingnuigao i r ar gcríoénuigao an éleammar rin  
 dóib da gac leir págbair an t-iarla bároa láioir i bpoit

engaging them in battle and conflict. But when he saw that he was not strong enough to fight them, he retreated to the fortress he had himself raised. When the Gaels saw the foreigners retreating, they followed them vehemently and boldly to the fortress. But when Raymond de la Gros observed that his enemy were boldly in pursuit of him he turned on them and made indescribable slaughter upon that great host of Gaels, so that apart from all he slew of them he maimed and wounded five hundred of them on the spot.

Now after the feast of St. Bartholomew in the succeeding autumn in the year of the Lord 1170, the earl of Stranguell came to Ireland, and the full number of the host that came with him was two hundred knights and a thousand esquires and bowmen and men of valour of every description; and it was at Port Lairge they put into port. And when the news spread over the country that the earl of Stranguell had come to Ireland, Mac Murchadha and the nobles of Leinster and Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitz Gerald and Raymond de la Gros came to meet and join the earl with joy and in high spirits, and on the morrow they went by common consent to capture Port Lairge; and when they arrived at the town they made a united assault on it with a view to capturing it, and having it in their power; and notwithstanding the evils and hardships endured by the townspeople in maintaining and defending themselves, they sprang on them over the walls of the town, and slew of the townspeople as many as they came upon, and they captured Maoilseachlainn O Faolain, king of the Deise, and it was through Mac Murchadha's intercession that his life was spared.

Now Mac Murchadha took his daughter, whose name was Aoife, to meet the earl at this time, and she was married to him, and when they had made and ratified that match on both sides, the earl left a strong garrison in Port Lairge



Lairge. ir triallair féin ir a fluaḡ o'ionnruige áta Cliat  
 5250 von cupi roin; aḡur ní maibe ar doḡan ouine ba luḡa ar  
 luét áta Cliat ioná Mac Murcáda ir na ḡall rin  
 o'faicrin éuca; aḡur do bi Mac Murcáda lán o'fioḡ ir  
 o'faltanar oóib-ḡean mar an ḡcéanna. Oir ir iad do  
 maib a átair; aḡur do áblaiceadar ḡo hearonópaḡ an-  
 5255 uaral é, maille pié maḡpaḡ maib do cupi i n-donuaḡ piḡ  
 mar áitir oó. Ar bfaicrin na nḡall roin ir neirit Lairgean  
 ḡo lionḡar aḡ teacḡ oirra, ḡabair uamán ir imeaḡla luét  
 áta Cliat, ir cuiriḡ teacḡa uacḡa ḡur an iarla o'iarraio  
 rioḡa ir piéuḡiḡ air .i. Labraḡ Ó Tuatail airvearpoḡ áta  
 5260 Cliat. Aḡur ḡeallair an t-airvearpoḡ von iarla cumá  
 ir briaḡoe ó luét áta Cliat do éionn rioḡa ir anacail  
 o'faḡáil oóib.

An tan iompoḡo do bi an piéuḡeac aḡa uéanaḡ  
 eatorra do bi Réamonn ve la ḡiór ir Miles ḡogan  
 5265 ir oirong do muiuib aḡa mar don piú von taob oile  
 von baile, aḡur fuaradar ápaḡ ar ballairuib an baile, ḡur  
 bpiḡeáḡ ir ḡur piéabaḡ leo iad; aḡur lingio féin ran  
 mbaile ir maibair ḡac don ar a piḡadar ann. Acḡ éana  
 ar nḡabáil áta Cliat amlair rin do ḡallair ir do Mac  
 5270 Murcáda, ir ḡearr an comnuio do pióngac ann, aḡur  
 páḡbair an t-iarla Miles ḡogan ir oirongbuiḡean mar don  
 piḡ aḡ coiméao an baile. Do bi iompoḡo faltanar ir  
 miorcair ioir Ó Ruairc pi bpiéḡne ir Mac Murcáda, aḡur  
 piḡ Mac Murcáda an mópiḡuaḡ roin leir do ḡallair ir  
 5275 do ḡaeḡealair von bpiéḡne, ḡur cpeacáḡ ir ḡur loirceáḡ  
 an épioḡ roin leo, ir ḡur ḡabḡao neair pióngar ar Ó Ruairc  
 ir ar ḡac don da oḡarla piú i néirinn.



and marched at once with his host against Ath Cliath; and there was no man on earth whom the people of Ath Cliath hated more to see coming towards them than Mac Murchadha accompanied by these foreigners; and Mac Murchadha on his part was full of rage and enmity against them. For it was they who slew his father; and they buried him with dishonour and contempt, and buried a dead dog in the same grave with him as an insult to him. When the people of Ath Cliath saw these foreigners and the strength of Leinster, a large army, making towards them, they were seized with fear and alarm, and sent an envoy, to wit, Labhras O Tuathail, archbishop of Ath Cliath, to the earl to request peace and a settlement from him. And the archbishop promised the earl gifts and hostages from the people of Ath Cliath in consideration of their obtaining peace and protection.

But while the settlement was being made between them, Raymond de la Gros and Myles Cogan, with a company of young knights, were on the other side of the town, and they found an opportunity of breaking and gapping the walls of the town, and they entered the town suddenly, and there slew every person they laid hold of. But when the foreigners and Mac Murchadha had thus captured Ath Cliath, they remained in it only a short time, and the earl left Myles Cogan and a company of men to hold the town. Now there were enmity and ill will between O Ruairc, king of Breithfne, and Mac Murchadha, and the latter took this great host of foreigners and 'Gaels to Breithfne, and they spoiled and burned the country and gained great advantages over O Ruairc and over all whom they fell in with in Ireland.

## XXXII.

Ót éonnaigh Ruairí mac Toirnéalbaidh Uí Concubair  
 ní Connaét i r uimhóir Éireann gur bhur Mac Muiéada ar  
 5280 an ríot vo bí eatorra iomhe rin, cuirur Ruairí teácta  
 éirge vo éabairt aitéir air tré neamhómall na ríotéána  
 vo bí eatorra, tré mar éug na Gail rin leir gan éao gan  
 éomairle vo Ruairí, Agus ar ríotain vo na teáctair vo  
 látar míc Muiéada i r ead aubhara: “Anoir tuigmí,”  
 5285 ar ríad, “naé fuil cion ná cádar agat ar vo mionnair ná  
 ar vo mac éugair i ngeall né comall ríotá uair, agus  
 aubhairt ní Connaét .i. Ruairí O Concubair ríot muna  
 gcuirí tú na veorair-fe agat uair go gcuirí ríot cé ann  
 vo míc éugat, i r naé géadair gan tú féin vo éir arí i  
 5290 Sacraib ar aitéir i r ar ionnairad.” Vo ríad Mac  
 Muiéada naé cuirí ad a veorair uair ar éomairle Ruairí,  
 agus aubhairt go ríubhíad tuillead veorair leir 'n-a  
 gceann, i r naé vionghad ríot ná ríotéain lé haoinnead vo  
 Gaedailair go beir v'Éirinn uile aige. Tángadar na  
 5295 teácta tar a n-air go Ruairí i r noétar vo fíeasra míc  
 Muiéada oirra. Ót éualair Ruairí aitearc míc Muiéada,  
 gabair fearg adbalmhóir é.

Tairur rin, iomorro, vo leat clú i r oiréarcar na  
 nGall roin fá Éirinn uile, ionnur gur gab gnáin i r eagla  
 5300 fíir Éireann iompa. Rángadar trá ríeala ón iarla i r ó  
 na Gailair rin i Sacraib, agus an tan aitélor vo ríig  
 Sacran na ríeala roin tug ríogra gan long ná báir vo úil  
 a haontalam vair bean iur féin go héirinn, agus gan  
 tráct ná ceannairéad vo úil innte. Agus tug mar an  
 5305 gceadna ríogra vo gad aon va vóáinir ó Sacraib i nÉirinn



## XXXII.

When Ruaidhri, son of Toirrdhealbhach O Conchubhair king of Connaught and of the greater part of Ireland, saw that Mac Murchadha had broken the peace that had up to then existed between them, he sent envoys to him to reproach him for violating the terms of peace which had been agreed on between them, by his having brought over these foreigners without his own consent or advice. And when the envoys came into the presence of Mac Murchadha they said: "Now we know," said they, "that thou hast neither regard nor respect for thine oaths, nor for thy son whom thou didst give as a hostage for the maintenance of peace; and the king of Connaught, Ruaidhri O Conchubhair, tells thee that if thou wilt not dismiss those foreigners who are with thee, he will send thee thy son's head, and that he will not rest till he has sent thyself a second time to England to banishment and exile." Mac Murchadha replied that he would not dismiss his foreigners on the advice of Ruaidhri, and added that he would bring over more foreigners in addition to them, and that he would not make peace or agreement with anyone of the Gaels until all Ireland should be his. The envoys returned to Ruaidhri and made known to him Mac Murchadha's answer to them. When Ruaidhri heard what Mac Murchadha had said he became enraged.

But now the fame and renown of these foreigners spread over all Ireland, so that the men of Ireland conceived a horror and dread of them. And tidings from the earl and from these foreigners reached England, and when the king of England heard these tidings he issued a command that neither ship nor bark from any land belonging to himself should go to Ireland, and that no intercourse or exchange be carried on with that country; and he also commanded those who had gone from England to Ireland to



vúl tar a n-air ariú fá péin a n-oigheada do buain oib  
 go briat. An tan doonnairc an t-iarla sup b'éigin da  
 muinntir imthead uair lé fógia an ríog, uime rin do éuar  
 an t-iarla ir a muinntear do déanam comairle eatorra  
 5310 féin fán gcúir rin, agus ir ead do connairtar oib  
 Réamonn de la Spór do cúir go ríog Sacran aga foillriuá  
 do sup da toil-rean ir da donat éainis an t-iarla ir na  
 Gaill rin i nÉirinn do neartuá leir an tí do gheall  
 umla ir óglácar do déanam do-ran .i. Diarmaid Mac  
 5315 Murchada rí Laigean; agus sibé gabálar do rinneadar i  
 nÉirinn agus a raibe aca do cairbe míc Murchada supab  
 da toil-rean ba mian leo a congáil. Téir Réamonn leir  
 an aitearc roin go ríog Sacran, agus ir é ionad a raibe an  
 tan roin ran Garúinn; agus ran bliadain rin do marbad  
 5320 Tomár aithearpos Canterbury an cúighead lá don  
 noulais, agus fá hí doir an Tigearna an tan roin 1171.  
 Agus ir i mBealltaine na bliadna roin fuair Mac Mur-  
 chada .i. Diarmaid rí Laigean bá; ir do haonaisead i  
 bFearna mhóir mhadóg é.

5325 Dála an ríog, éainis go Sacraib, agus ar roctain ann  
 rin do, do cúir muirce da muinntir dar b'ainm heumont  
 Morci go leirheadaib leir go iarla o' Stranguell i  
 nÉirinn mar don le Réamonn de la Spór da fógia don  
 iarla vúl i Sacraib gan cairve; agus ar otigead i nÉirinn  
 5330 oib noctair heumont a toirce don iarla, agus trallair an  
 t-iarla do ládar mar don le heumont i Sacraib, agus ar  
 roctain do ládar an ríog do, do gheall go stiubrad dé  
 Cliaé ir port lairge ir bailte cuan laigean do ir da  
 oigheadaib da éir, agus an cúir oile do cúighead laigean  
 5335 do beir ag an iarla féin ir ag a fliocht.

i nuaid iomorro an connairc roin do ceangal eatorra,  
 trallair an rí go rluag lionmar maille mur i nÉirinn,  
 sup gab cuan ag port lairge. Cúig céad muirce éainis

return under penalty of being disinherited for ever. When the earl saw that his followers were obliged to leave him by reason of the king's proclamation, he and they took counsel together on this matter, and what they resolved upon was to send Raymond de la Gros to the king of England, to point out to him that it was by his own will and consent that the earl and the foreigners had come to Ireland to help one who had promised obedience and vassalage to him, to wit, Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster; and that whatever conquest they had made in Ireland and whatever benefits they had derived from Mac Murchadha they desired to hold subject to his will. Raymond conveyed this statement to the king of England, and it was in Gascony he was at that time; and it was in that year that Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered the fifth day of Christmas, and the year of the Lord at that time was 1171; and it was at the Bealltaine of that year (i.e., the ensuing Bealltaine) that Mac Murchadha, that is Diarmaid, king of Leinster, died; and he was buried at Fearná Mor Mhaadhog.

As to the king, he returned to England, and when he had arrived there, he sent one of his people, a knight named Herimont Morti, together with Raymond de la Gros, to Ireland with letters to the earl of Stranguell, commanding the earl to repair to England without delay; and when they had arrived in Ireland, Herimont delivered his message to the earl, and the earl together with Herimont proceeded at once to England, and when he had come into the king's presence he promised that he would give Ath Cliath and Port Lairge and the ports of Leinster to him and to his heirs after him, the remainder of the province of Leinster to go to the earl himself and to his descendants.

Now when they had concluded this treaty between them, the king proceeded to Ireland with a numerous host and put into port at Port Lairge. There came with



laid marí don pé hiomao marcfhuaḡ ír troigḡeacḡ, doir an  
 5340 Tigeanna an tan roin II72. Ro an iomorro an pí i bPope  
 lairge 'n-a úiaíú rin go utángavari uairle na nḡall vo  
 bí roime i nÉirinn ír buirḡéiríḡ Loča ḡarman vo ḡabairt  
 umla ír onóra úó. Táinig fóir pí Corcaige .i. Diarmaito  
 5345 Mór Mac Carraige 'n-a látaí ír vo ḡeall umla ír óḡlácaí  
 vo úéanaí úó. Táinig an pí ar rin go Cairéal, aḡur  
 táinig Donnall Ó bhuain pí Luimnig 'n-a éoinne ann, ír  
 tug umla úó, aḡail tug Mac Carraige.

Da éir rin vo éuir pí Sacran coiméav uair féin ar  
 Corcaige ír ar Luimneac. Tángavari maite Muían éuirge  
 5350 iar rin ír tugrav umla ír onóir vo marí an ḡcéavna.  
 Vo éuair an pí tar a air go Pope lairge, aḡur táinig  
 pí Orruige éuirge ann rin ír tug umla ír onóir vo,  
 aḡail tugrav na píoga roime rin. Tualldair an pí ar  
 rin go baile áta Cliaḡ, go utángavari ḡaeúil lairgean  
 5355 éuirge ann rin vo ḡabairt umla ír onóra úó.

An tan iomorro avéuala Ruairí Ó Conéubair, pí  
 Connaḡ ír Éireann, a éuirgeavaiḡ ír an luḡt cíora ír  
 cánaḡair vo bí aige, ír an luḡt va utug féin tuilleaí ír  
 tuáparcal, vo úul ar rcáḡ píog Sacran, vo mear 'n-a meán-  
 5360 main féin go maḡ luḡa vo maílaḡ vo umla vo ḡabairt va  
 úeoin ioná va aímúeoin uair vo píḡ Sacran. Ír ann rin  
 vo éuir an pí iar va muinnir i ḡcoinne Ruairí Uí  
 Conéubair, aḡur ír iav vo éuair ann Hugo de Lacy ír  
 5365 William mac Alvelmel. Táinig Ruairí 'n-a ḡcoinne go  
 bhuaḡ na Sionna go nvearíavú píot ír cáirvear iur an píḡ  
 'n-a látaí rin, aḡur vo ḡeall umla ír onóir vo ḡabairt  
 vo. Táinig fóir Muícaḡ mac Floinn pí Mué éuirge ír tug



him five hundred knights, as well as a large number of horsemen and foot-soldiers, the year of the Lord then being 1172. Now the king remained at Port Lairge after this, and the foreign nobles who were in Ireland before him and the burgesses of Loch Garman came to do him homage and pay him respect. There also came into his presence the king of Corcach, to wit, Diarmaid Mor Mac Carrthaigh, and he pledged himself to submit to him and become his vassal. The king went thence to Cashel and Domhnall O Briain, king of Limerick, went thither to meet him, and submitted to him, as Mac Carrthaigh had done.

After this the king of England placed a garrison of his own in Corcach and in Luimneach. After this the Munster nobles came to him and did him homage and paid him respect in like manner. The king returned to Port Lairge, and the king of Osruighe came to him there and did him homage and paid him respect as the other kings had already done. The king proceeded thence to the town of Ath Cliath, and the Gaels of Leinster came to him there to do him homage and pay him respect.

Now when Ruaidhri O Conchubhair, king of Connaught and of Ireland, heard that his provincial kings and those who paid him rent and tribute, and those to whom he himself gave wages and stipends, had put themselves under the protection of the king of England he judged in his own mind that it would be less an indignity for him to submit to the king of England voluntarily than to do so against his will. And then the king sent two of his people to meet Ruaidhri O Conchubhair, and those who went were Hugo de Lacy and William Mac Aldelmel. Ruaidhri went to meet them to the bank of the Sionainn, and he made peace and friendly alliance with the king in their presence, and he pledged himself to be obedient to him and to pay him respect. Murchadh Mac Floinn, king of Meath, also came to him and gave himself up to him as

é féin uó, amlail do rónrao cáe oile, ionnnur naé maibe nĩ  
 ná taoirpeáé ná tĩgeapina i nÉiunn naé tug uimla i  
 5370 tĩgeapinao oipia féin do nĩg Sacrao an tan roin.

Ar nteáé an gēimuró éuca iap rin do lion an aimreap  
 o'fuaéé i' do doininn mógpáanna, ionnnur naé maibe ar bneit  
 do luing nó do báie teáéé mé rceálaib na Sacrao i nÉiunn  
 gur an nĩg nó go rtaimig an mĩ meadónaé don eapmaé éuca.  
 5375 Da éir rin tángavao longá i nÉiunn i' tugavao rceála  
 gur an nĩg ó Sacraib i' ón b'fpaingé naé ar máe iur;  
 agur tap gac ní noétau uó gur éur an Pápa diao  
 caipioinál go Sacraib do loigapreáé an báie do himpeáú  
 ar S. Tomár o' Canterbury; agur muna nteáéú an nĩ  
 5380 'n-a pēaprao féin do éabaipe fāpuiéte uóib ran maibáú  
 roin, i' eáú doubpavao go gēuipioir coinnealbáéú ari  
 agur ar gac talam va ngabáú leir. Gēi uoilié iur an nĩg  
 na rceála roin, do ba uoile ioná roin uó na rceála táimig  
 ó n-a mēac éuige 'n-a uiaú rin, maia atá an mac ro ba rine  
 5385 aige uó uul i reilb éóioine na Sacrao i noúig go n-anpáú  
 aige u'aimbeoin a éap. Do fāp uoileáe uofairnéie ar  
 an nĩg tpiér na rceálaib rin. Gíveáú i' mó do éur ari an  
 báe do himpeáú ar S. Tomár ioná gac ní va nteaprao a  
 élanu i' a uaoine ari. Uime rin cuip cuinnuigáú ar  
 5390 máieib a muinntie éuige do uéanao comaipe mĩ, agur  
 noétau uóib gac contaibaipe va maibe 'n-a éionn féin;  
 agur i' i comaipe ar ar éinnrioc rponé mōi va muinntie  
 do éur ioime go Sacraib agur é féin do uul 'n-a noiaú  
 go gpo. Do rinneáú amlaiú rin leo, agur do an an nĩ ag  
 5395 cupi éoiméava i' éoranta ar éiunn.

An tan tpiá ro ba mēio leir an nĩg uul i Sacraib ro  
 fāgaib rponga ag coiméáú na epíe, maia atá hugo ve Lacy  
 ran mēie i' fíe mēie maia don iur; agur fōr do bionn  
 bit uilear na mēie do hugo i' va flióéé 'n-a uiaú. Do



all the others had done ; so that there was no king or leader or lord in Ireland who did not at that time make submission to the king of England and acknowledge him as their lord.

On the setting in of winter after this, the weather became very cold and dreadfully inclement, so that neither ship nor bark could come to Ireland with news from England to the king until the middle month of spring had come. After this ships came to Ireland, and they brought to the king news from England and from France which did not please him, and above all he was informed that the Pope had sent two cardinals to England to inquire how Thomas of Canterbury had been done to death, and they had said that if the king did not appear in person to give them satisfaction for this murder, they would subject to ecclesiastical censure both himself and every land that sided with him. Though this was sad news to the king, sadder still for him was the news that reached him afterwards from his son, namely, that his eldest son had taken possession of the English crown in the hope of being able to hold it in spite of his father. An indescribable sadness seized on the king by reason of these tidings. Still he was more affected by the murder of St. Thomas than by all that his children and his people had done against him. Accordingly he summoned to him the nobles of his people to take counsel with them, and he made known to them every danger that hung over him, and the decision they came to was that he should send a large party of his followers before him to England, himself to follow them speedily. They acted accordingly, and the king remained behind to garrison and fortify Ireland.

And when the king thought it time to go to England he left a party to hold the country, to wit, Hugo de Lacy in Meath, together with twenty knights, and, moreover, he granted the fee simple of Meath to Hugo and to his



5400 fásaiḃ fór coméao baile Áta Cliaḃ ar Roibeairt Mac  
 Stiabhna iḃ ar mhuir Mac Seairilt iḃ oá fíeio muirne mar  
 aon mú go n-a bfuirinn. Do fásaiḃ mar an gcéaoḃna i  
 Loc Sarmán William Mac Alvelmel iḃ Pilib ve hartings  
 iḃ Pilib ve bhuir iḃ fíeio muirne mar aon mú aḡ coméao  
 5405 an baile. Do fásaiḃ mar an gcéaoḃna i bPort Laigne  
 humprie bolum iḃ hugo ve Santeuille iḃ Roibeairt Mac  
 beairnairt iḃ oá fíeio muirne mar aon mú. Tualldair an ní  
 iar rin i Sacraib aḡur ar poétain vo lártair na gcairtoionál  
 oó, aubairt go otiubraó a otoiḃ féin oóib i n-éiric  
 5410 mairbta S. Tomár, gion go mairb pún a báruighe aige féin,  
 aḡur tḃé méirdeadaó roir é féin iḃ níḡ Fhainc mé a mairb i  
 n-impeairt an tan roin.

## XXXIII.

Ma'r mairt leat, a léagtóir, a fíor o'fásail créao ar  
 a noeadaíó Diairairt Mac Mupcaóa ní Laignean o'fíor  
 5415 níḡ Sacran von Fhainc vo céirneam iḃ vo éaraoir an  
 taḃrainn vo rinneao aḡi féin a héirinn, reoḃ iḃ a éaraoir  
 mé níḡ Fhainc nó lé níḡ oile, bioó a fíor aḡat gupab é  
 Donncaó mac bḡain bḡaimne iḃ fíoruaire éirneann  
 maille mḡr vo bi eardaontaḃ mé céile fá uplamar éirneann  
 5420 ó airmir bḡain go haimir Donncaíó, aḡur uime rin vo  
 bḡonnaoair o'donaonta reab n'éirneann o'urbanur, an vana  
 pápa von ainm rin, an tan fá haoir von Tigearna 1092;  
 aḡur vo bi reab iḃ cup iḃ ceannar na h'éirneann aḡ pápa  
 na Róma ón am roin gḡr an am fári gáḃ aḡrianur an  
 5425 ceatḡamaó pápa von ainm rin comḡrbaḡ Peaoair, an tan  
 fá haoir von Tigearna 1154. Aḡur fá Sacranaḃ an pápa-  
 ro aḡur fá hé a ainm baḡrtoḃ Nicholas bḡeakeḡeape; aḡur  
 aḡeir Stoo 'n-a éirneic gḡr bḡonn an pápa-ro míoḡaḃt  
 éirneann von vana henrí ní Sacran an céirbḡiaóain vo

descendants after him. He also entrusted the keeping of the town of Ath Cliath to Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitz Gerald, who had with them forty knights and their dependants. In the same way he left William Fitz Aldelmel and Philip de Hastings and Philip de Brus with twenty knights at Loch Garman to guard the town. He also left at Port Lairge Humphrey Bolum and Hugo de Gandeville and Robert Fitz Bearnard with forty knights. After this the king proceeded to England, and when he had come into the presence of the cardinals he said that he would grant them anything they desired as an *eric* for the death of St. Thomas though he was not in the secret of his taking off, and for making peace between himself and the king of France with whom he was in conflict at that time.

### XXXIII.

If thou desirest to be informed, O reader, why Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster, went to the king of England to France to complain and protest against his expulsion from Ireland, instead of protesting to the king of France or to some other king, know that it was because Donnchadh, son of Brian Boraimhe, and the real nobles of Ireland were at enmity with one another concerning the mastery of Ireland from the time of Brian to that of Donnchadh, and hence they bestowed with one accord the possession of Ireland on Urbanus, the second Pope of that name, in the year of the Lord 1092; and the Pope of Rome had possession of and authority and sovereignty over Ireland from that time to the time when Adrianus, the fourth Pope of that name, assumed the successorship of Peter in the year of the Lord 1154; and this Pope was an Englishman, and his baptismal name was Nicholas Breakespeare; and Stow says in his Chronicle that this Pope bestowed the kingdom of Ireland on Henry II., king of England,



5430 fílaítear an Henrí céadna, an tan fá haoir von Tígearna  
 II55. Agus awei an t-ugóar céadna supab iad coinḡill  
 ar ar bponn an Pápa Éirinn vo piḡ Sacran ar eaḡt go  
 otóigeobaḡ an crieveam vo bi ar lár ran ḡcriḡ agus go  
 ḡceirteócaḡ nobéara an pobail, agus go ḡcoiméaḡfaḡ ir  
 5435 go ḡcoirceonaḡ ḡaḡ ppiḡiléir ir ḡaḡ tearmonn va piḡbe  
 ran ḡcriḡ agus go noiolḡfaḡ an pi pinginn ḡeavair ar ḡaḡ  
 dointeac i nÉirinn iur an bPápa ḡaḡa bliadna. Iar  
 nḡlacaḡ an tabairtar-re ḡcriḡbḡa ón bPápa von vaira  
 Henrí vo cúir ré Seon earpoḡ Salirburie leir an uḡvairiár  
 5440 roin go hÉirinn, gur ḡab tír i bpoir laiḡe; agus ar n-a  
 élor vo éléir Éirceann eircean vo teaḡt lé huḡvairiár an  
 pápa triallair 'n-a óail va ḡaḡ leir, agus ar pioḡtain ar  
 donlátair vóib léaḡtar leir an earpoḡ Seon vo luaiḡ-  
 eamair tabairtar an Pápa ar Éirinn von vaira Henrí ir va  
 5445 fíloḡt, agus na coinḡill vo bi ran ḡcriḡbinn; agus ar mear  
 na ḡcoinḡioll von éléir, donuiḡir uile iad, ir tuḡvair a  
 n-donta fá n-a lámair ḡcriḡbḡa von tSeon roin; agus  
 tiliir go Sacraib gur an piḡ, ir cuirir an pi leir an  
 ḡcriḡbinn rin gur an bPápa é, agus mar vo éonairic an  
 5450 Pápa donḡa éléirce Éirceann, vo cúir fáinne mar éonairce  
 reilbe Éirceann gur an vaira Henrí.

Tis bellairminur leir an ní éuar 'n-a époiric, mar a  
 n-abair: a "Adrianur an ceatḡamḡaḡ Pápa von ainm rin  
 vo éine Sacran, vaine eagnuibe cpiḡbḡeac vo óail oiléan  
 5455 Éirceann von vaira Henrí pi Sacran, ar éoinḡioll go  
 noionḡnaḡ ruḡailce vo plavouḡaḡ ran oiléan roin agus  
 loḡta vo cúir ar ḡcúl ann, ir go otuḡaḡ fá veapa pinginn  
 ḡeavair vo vóil ar ḡaḡ dointeac ḡaḡa bliadna, agus go  
 ḡcoiméaḡfaḡ peacḡta na heaḡailre ḡan leonaḡ ann. Atá  
 5460 an bulla 'n-a bfuilro na neirce-re pi a faicrin ran vaira  
 leabair vécḡ v'annálair éairvionál baronur."

a. Adrianus Papa quartus natione Anglus vir sapiens et pius  
 Hiberniam insulam Henrico secundo regi Anglorum concessit ea  
 conditione ut in ea insula virtutes plantaret et vitia eradicaret;  
 ut a singulis domibus quottannis denarium Sancto Petro pendi  
 curaret, et iura ecclesiastica illibata servaret. Extat Diploma  
 Tom. 12 Annalium Cardinalis Baronii.



in the first year of the said Henry's reign, in the year of the Lord 1155. And the same author says that the conditions on which the Pope bestowed Ireland on the king of England were that he should build up the Faith which had fallen to the ground in that country, and that he should correct the evil habits of the people, and that he should maintain and protect every privilege and every termor land that was in the country, and that the king should pay Peter's penny every year for every house in Ireland to the Pope. When Henry II. received this gift in writing from the Pope he sent John, bishop of Salisbury, with this authorization to Ireland, and he landed at Port Lairge, and when the Irish clergy heard that he had come with the authorization of the Pope they came from all sides to meet him, and when they had come to one place, John, the bishop we have referred to, read the granting of Ireland by the Pope to Henry II. and to his descendants, and the conditions laid down in the document; and when the clergy had considered the conditions they all agreed to them, and they gave their assent then with their signatures in writing to this John; and he returned to England to the king, and the king sent him to the Pope with this document, and when the Pope saw the assent of the Irish clergy he sent a ring as a token of the possession of Ireland to Henry II.

Bellarminus agrees with the above in his chronicle where he says: "Adrianus, the fourth Pope of that name, a native of England, a wise and pious man, bestowed the island of Ireland on Henry II., king of England, on condition that he would plant virtues in that island and root out vices, that he should see that Peter's penny was paid every year from each house, and that he should preserve the rights of the Church inviolate there. The bull in which these things are is to be seen in the twelfth book of the annals of Cardinal Baronius."

Atá cionnic béarla Stanihuirt ag teacht leis an ní-re  
 mar a n-abairt gur foládaí an dara henní bulla ón bPápa  
 5465 Aorianur mar a b'ógmann vo éléir ír o'fíoruaírlib  
 éiréann uile i bpéin coinealbáirte umlaet ír oisnéir vo  
 tabairt vo henní ní Sacran, ar roát ceartuigíte vo véanaim  
 ar éiréamh na críche, ír leartuigíte vo véanaim ar béarab  
 an róbaíl; agus ráinig an bulla-ro ón níg i nÉirinn gur  
 léagad i gcomhdáil coitcinn fíoruaírl ír éléir i gCairéal  
 5470 é. Léagtar fóir ag an ugar gceadna gur éir Alexanther,  
 an tnear Pápa von ainm rin, cairdeonál dar b'ainm  
 Vivianus i nÉirinn da éir i gcéill o'Éiréannáib an  
 bhonnctanar vo punne féin ír an Pápa vo bí roime ann ar  
 Éirinn vo níg Sacran ír da flioet, aet go mbiaó pinginn  
 5475 Péadair óó féin ír da gac Pápa cioéfad 'n-a diaí ar  
 Éirinn ó bliadain go bliadain ar gac teach muinntire da  
 mbiaó innce.

Meas, a léagtóir, gurab uime vo éuaíó Diairmaid Mac  
 Murcáda i noáil níos Sacran von f'raingc roet a uola i  
 5480 noáil aoin níos oile, a lor an bhonnctanair vo punne an  
 Pápa vo níg Sacran roime rin ar Éirinn, agus da péir rin  
 ír ag níg Sacran vo bí cumácta ar Éirinn ón bPápa, gurab  
 gur vo bean leartugad nó lóirgníom vo buain amac ran lor  
 vo punnead vo m'ac Murcáda.

5485 Do-ním iongantar annro vo coingiolll da raibe i  
 mbulla Aorianur Pápa mar ar bhonn Éirinn von dara  
 henní. Ag ro an coingiolll vo péir cionnic Stoo, mar atá  
 go raibe o'fíadaib ar an dara henní an cneveamh Catoilice  
 vo bí ar ucitinn i nÉirinn o'acóruagad ír vo éógbaíl.  
 5490 Óir ní gar go gcuirfead an Pápa an coingiolll roin 'n-a  
 bulla muna gcuiréi i gcéill oó lé oruing éigin an cneve-  
 eamh vo uil i mbádaó i nÉirinn. Gívead gíbe orong vo  
 meac gur é, ír b'éag vo punneadar. Óir ír follur naé  
 veacáir bádaó ar ar gneveamh tug Pápaíag i nÉirinn



The English chronicle of Stanihurst agrees with this where it says that Henry II. procured a bull from Pope Adrianus in which he commanded the clergy and the real nobles of all Ireland, under penalty of excommunication, to pay homage and be obedient to Henry, king of England, under pretext of his reforming the religion of the country and improving the habits of the people; and this bull came from the king to Ireland and was read at a general assembly of genuine nobles and clerics at Cashel. We read also in the same author that Alexander, the third Pope of that name, sent a cardinal called Vivianus to Ireland to make known to the Irish the grant of Ireland to the king of England and to his descendants, which he himself and the Pope who preceded him had made on condition that he and every Pope who should come after him would get out of Ireland each succeeding year Peter's penny for every household in the country.

Judge, O reader, that the reason why Diarmaid Mac Murchadha went to meet the king of England to France instead of going to meet any other king was because of the grant the Pope had previously made of Ireland to the king of England, and for that reason that it was the king of England who had authority over Ireland from the Pope and that it was his duty to demand amends or satisfaction for the injury done to Mac Murchadha.

Here I must express astonishment at a condition in the bull of Pope Adrianus in which he granted Ireland to Henry II. Here is the condition according to Stow's Chronicle, to wit, that Henry II. was bound to reform and build up the Catholic Faith which had fallen down in Ireland. For it is not likely that the Pope would put that condition in his bull unless some party had given him to understand that the Faith had lapsed in Ireland. But whatever party told him this told a lie. For it is plain that the faith Patrick brought to Ireland did not lapse up to



5495 gup an am-ro; agus i r iomda ughar banantamail coisgeiríde  
 aza fíadnuḡad rin ó aimirí go haimirí. Óir tar ceann,  
 vo péirí bea i Stair na Sacran, go maibe impearan iorí  
 cuio vo éleirí éireann i r éliar na Sacran vo éaoib na  
 Cársa, agus fóir gup falcaó cuio o' éireanncaib lé heirit-  
 5500 icesaét Phelagian, mareaó vo bí uimhóir na n'éireannac  
 glan ó ḡad falcarí óioḡ; agus an méio beanaí rir an  
 ḡeireasáin ó aimirí bhuain anuar go Sabáltar ḡall, i r  
 pollur go maibe an cpeireasáin ar marḡain go hiomlán i  
 n'éirinn, agus va péirí rin nac ríoir von vruing vo peac  
 5505 rir an bpápa go maibe an cpeireasáin ar lár i n'éirinn an  
 tan vo bponnaó leir von vaira henrí i. bíoḡ a fíadnairíe  
 rin ar na romplairíóib cúirream ríor anro.

Ar utúr i r pollur ar a nveacáio o' fíoruarlrib éireann  
 i nveireasó a pé i bpríomeasailrib éireann vo éríocnuḡad  
 5510 a mbeaḡaó go haitrúḡeac ó aimirí bhuain go Sabáltar  
 ḡall, go maibe an cpeireasáin ar marḡain i n'éirinn an tan  
 roin. As ro ríor fuireann oíob, marí atá flaitébeartaḡ  
 ó néill va ngairí flaitébeartaḡ an Troḡáin, tug ar  
 utúr uét ar aitrúḡe vo véanaí i n'éirinn, agus vo cuairí  
 5515 va éir rin von Róim va oiliríe, an tan fá haoir von  
 Tíḡearina 1073, agus Donncaó mac bhuain bómaíe vo  
 cuairí va oiliríe von Róim i r vo éríocnuḡ a beaḡa go  
 haitrúḡeac i mainirirí San Stiabna, agus Taḡs mac  
 Lorcaín pí Ha ḡCinnrealaḡ vo éríocnuḡ a beaḡa go  
 5520 haitrúḡeac i ḡcill éaoimḡin i nḡlionn vá loé, agus Caḡal  
 mac Ruairí pí iairḡairí Connaét tug a beaḡa ar i nAro  
 Maḡa go haitrúḡeac, agus Muirḡearḡaḡ ó bhuain pí leiríe  
 Moḡa i r uimhóir éireann uile vo vúl i nAro Maḡa vo  
 éairíeasáin éirí mbliaḡan go haitrúḡeac ann go bvuairí bár,  
 5525 agus mar rin vo móirán oile o' fíoruarlrib éireann tug a  
 mbeaḡa ar go cpáibḡeac Catoilice ó aimirí bhuain go  
 Sabáltar ḡall, ionnur va péirí rin gupab bpréasḡaḡ von

this time, and many foreign authors of weight bear testimony to this from age to age. For although, according to Beda in the History of Sacsa, there was a contention between some of the Irish clergy and the clergy of Sacsa concerning Easter, and, moreover, though some of the Irish were stained with the Pelagian heresy, still the greater number of the Irish were free from either stain; and as regards the Faith, from the time of Brian down to the Norman Invasion, it is clear that it was alive unimpaired in Ireland, and hence that those who informed the Pope that it had lapsed in Ireland when he bestowed that country on Henry II. lied. In testimony of this are the examples which we shall set down here.

In the first place it is plain, from the number of genuine Irish nobles who, towards the close of their lives, betook themselves to the principal churches of Ireland to end their days in penance, from the time of Brian to the Norman Invasion, that the Faith was then alive in Ireland. Here follow some of these, to wit, Flaithbheartach O'Neill, who was called Flaithbheartach of the Pilgrim's Staff; he first began to do penance in Ireland, and after that he went to Rome on a pilgrimage in the year of the Lord 1073; and Donnchadh, son of Brian Boraimhe, who went on a pilgrimage to Rome and who ended his days in penance in the monastery of St. Stephen; and Tadhg, son of Lorcan, king of Ui Cinnsealaigh, who ended his days in penance in the church of Caomhghin in Gleann da Loch; and Cathal, son of Ruaidhri, king of west Connaught, who closed his days in penance at Ard Macha; and Muircheartach O'Briain, king of Leath Mogha, and of the greater part of all Ireland, who went to Ard Macha and spent five years in penance there until his death; and so it was with many others of the true nobles of Ireland who closed their days in piety and as Catholics from the time of Brian to the Norman Invasion. Hence did those persons lie who told



urruing do peac iur an bPápa Doimhanur Cuartur naé  
 paibe an Cpeiveamh Catoilice ar marctain ná ar coiméas  
 5530 i nÉirinn né tigeaét Gall innte.

An taria dearbhad do-beirim iur an gCpeiveamh gCatoil-  
 ice do beit ar coiméas iur tângadur Gall i nÉirinn, mar  
 do tógbad iomaó mainirteac innte go sruo iur tângadur  
 Gall iur uairle Saedéal da tógbail. Ar tóur do tógbad  
 5535 lé Maoilpeaclainn ní Mióe iur Éipeann uile mainirtear  
 Muirne i mbaille áta Cliaé, an tan fá haoir von Tigearna  
 II39. Do tógbad lé Donncaó Ó Cearbail ní Oirgiall  
 ar fupáileamh Malaciae Earpuig Dúin mainirtear Melli-  
 pont i gconntae Lugmaig, an tan fá haoir von Tigearna  
 5540 II42. Do tógab Malaciae naomta earpuig Dúin  
 mainirtear Iobair Cinn Tríáda i gconntae an Dúin, doir an  
 Tigearna an triáe roin II44. Doir an Tigearna an tan do  
 tógbad mainirtear na Búille II61. Do tógab Diaimaro  
 mac Muircaó ní Laigean mainirtear an Dealaig aliar  
 5545 baltinglar an tan fá haoir von Tigearna II51. Do  
 tógbadur rlióet Maoilpeaclainn ní Mióe mainirtear  
 Bectir aliar De beaticuine ran Mióe, an tan fá haoir  
 von Tigearna II51. Doir an Tigearna an tan do tógbad  
 mainirtear na Máige i gconntae Luimniú II51. Doir an  
 5550 Tigearna an tan do tógbad mainirtear Ó Doimna i gconntae  
 Éiarraíde II54. Do tógab Doimnall O Druain ní Luimniú  
 mainirtear na Croiúe Naomh i gconntae Tiobrao Árann  
 an tan fá haoir von Tigearna II69, asur do tógab an  
 Doimnall céadna roin O Druain peacé mainirteacá véas  
 5555 oile ran Muhan. Doir an Tigearna an tan do tógbad  
 mainirtear Fear Muige i gconntae Corcaige II70. Asur  
 do tógbad iur an né rin iomaó teampull iur mainirteac i  
 nÉirinn naé Luaitéar linn annro. Uime rin iur follur  
 go paibe an Cpeiveamh Catoilice ar marctain i nÉirinn né  
 5560 huét Gall do éaét innte.



Pope Adrianus IV. that the Catholic Faith was not alive or in a state of preservation in Ireland before the coming hither of the Normans.

The second proof I advance to show that the Catholic Faith was in a state of preservation before the Normans came to Ireland is that there were many abbeys built there shortly before the Normans came, and that the Gaelic nobles built them. In the first place Maoil-seachlainn, king of Meath and of all Ireland, built the abbey of St. Mary in the town of Ath Cliath, in the year of the Lord 1139. Donnchadh O Cearbhaill, king of Oirghialla, at the instance of Malachias, bishop of Dun, built the abbey of Meillifont in the county of Lughmhagh in the year of the Lord 1142. St. Malacias, bishop of Dun, built the abbey of Iobhar Cinn Tragha in the county of Dun, the year of the Lord then being 1144. The year of the Lord when the abbey of Buill was built was 1161. Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster, built the abbey of the Bealach *alias* Baltinglas in the year of the Lord 1151. The descendants of Maoil-seachlainn, king of Meath, built the abbey of Bectif *alias* De Beatitudine in Meath in the year of the Lord 1151. The year of the Lord when the abbey of Maigh in the county of Luimneach was built was 1151. The year of the Lord when the abbey of O Dorna in the county of Ciarraidhe was built was 1154. Domhnall O Briain, king of Luimneach, built the abbey of the Holy Cross in the county of Tiobrad Arann in the year of the Lord 1169; and the said Domhnall O Briain built seventeen other abbeys in Munster. The year of the Lord when the abbey of Feara Muighe in the county of Corcach was built was 1170; and in that period there were built many temples and abbeys in Ireland which we do not mention here. Hence it is plain that the Catholic Faith was alive in Ireland just before the Normans came hither.

5580 **Δ**ν **τ**ρεαρ **κο**μῶδαι **δο**ιτῶνν **σο** **μ**ινεαῶ **ι** **ν**ῆμιν **λέ**  
**κ**λείριϋ **ι** **ρ**ε **ρ**ιομυαιϋ **ἑ**ρεαν **ι** **ζ**εανανν **να** **μ**ιθε,  
**μα**ρ **α** **ρ**αιθε **χ**ριτσαν **ι** **ζ**ιλλα **χ**ριοτ **ὁ** **κ**οναμice **ε**αρροζ  
**λε**αρα **μ**όμρ, **λε**αζάιο **αν** **ρ**άρα **ι** **ν**ῆμιν **αν** **τα**ν **ρ**οιν, **μα**ρ  
**α**ον **ρ**ε **κα**ιροιοιά **τα**ρ **β**’αιν **ι** **ιο**hannep **ρ**αριον **ρ**ε **ο**άι  
**ce**ατῖα **ρ**αλλια **σο** **ce**ιτῖε **η**αιρθεαρροζάι **ι** **ν**ῆμιν, **α**ζυρ  
 5585 **ρ**ε **co**ρ **ρ**ιομῶνταῶτα **ι** **ὑ**ρμυεαῶτα, **ι** **ρ**ε **ο**ιολ **ve**αῶμυθε,  
**ρ**ε **co**ρ **ζ**αοα **ι** **ε**ιζι **ο**ρῦμῖε **ι** **ο**οιῶεαρ **ι** **ζ**αῶ **υ**ιϋ **ὁ**  
**ρ**οιν **α**μαῶ.

The third proof that the Faith was alive in Ireland just before the Normans came hither is that we read in the ancient annals of Ireland that, from the time of Donnchadh, son of Brian, to the coming of the Normans, the prelates and nobles of Ireland organized three national councils in Ireland in which laws pertaining to the clergy and laity were laid down and approved.

The first council was held at Fiadh Mic nAonghusa the first year of the reign of Muircheartach O Briain in the year of the Lord 1105, and in it laws and regulations were laid down, and religion was reformed in Ireland.

Another national council was convened in Ireland the fifth year of the reign of the said Muircheartach, when the nobles and the ecclesiastics of Ireland came together at Raith Breasal, in the year of the Lord 1110, where sees or dioceses and their boundaries were regulated, and a fixed number of bishops placed over them, as we have said.

The third national council held in Ireland by the clergy and the genuine nobles of Ireland was at Ceanannus na Midhe, at which were Christianus, that is Giolla Criost O Conaire, bishop of Lios Mor, the Pope's legate in Ireland at the time, together with a cardinal called John Papiron, for the purpose of presenting four pallia to four archbishops in Ireland and of putting down simony and usury, and enforcing the payment of tithes, and of putting down robbery and rape and bad morals and evils of every kind besides.



## XXXIV.

1r pollur ar na romplaóidí-re anuas go raibé an  
 Cneveamh Catoilice ar maréain i nÉirinn pé huét Šall  
 5590 vo tígeadé innte; agus an méio beanar pé voibéaraid na  
 nŠaeúeal pul mángavari Šaill eastorpa, 1r veard go vtáng-  
 avari lé Šabáltar Šall cúigeari taoiread vo pinne ní-ra  
 mhó vo voibéaraid ioná a vtáinig vo Šaeúealaid ó  
 aimriri Šriain go Šabáltar Šall, maille pé haršain  
 5595 éeall 1r éléiré, lé feilbéaraid folamla 1r pé hanflaítear  
 anšorplannad vo véanamh. Aš ro a n-anmanna, iapla o'  
 Štranguell, Roibeario Mac Štiabna, hugo ve lacy, Seon  
 ve Cucey, 1r William Mac Alvoelmel. b'urupa řirinne  
 an neite-re vo cúigrin ar an ní avéarim 'n-ari noiaió,  
 5600 agus go háirite a epoinic Stanihurte, agus fór mar vo  
 éavari urmhóir na vruinge-re šan mac aš Šabáil oigreacáa  
 a átarí orpa tré n-a n-olcaid řém.

bioó a řiaónaire řin ar iapla o' Štranguell ar  
 Roibeario Mac Štiabna ar Seon ve Cucey agus ar vruing  
 5605 oile vo táoiréacaid táinig i vtúr an éongcuir naé lúaid-  
 řeam annro. agus an méio beanar pé řirteario Štrangu-  
 uell vo řéiri époinic Stanihurte, i noiaió iomav cpead 1r  
 ceallairšte vo véanamh ar éuaid 1r ar éill vó, řuaid řé  
 bář i náé Cliaé i řcionn řeacé mbliadán iari vtígeadé i  
 5610 nÉirinn vó, an tan řá haoir von Tígearina II77; agus  
 ní raibé vo řlióé vā éir lé haoire ingin Óiarřmava áé  
 áomingeán var b'ainm řrabella, agus vo póřad an ingean  
 řoin lé William Marřcál, 1r řuř ři cúigeari mac 1r  
 cúigeari ingean vó; agus vo éařavari na mic vuidó i noiaió  
 5615 řan lořš řan oigřie ar éeátarí vuidó, agus vo póřad na  
 hingeanā lé řuirinn v'uarřlib na Šacřan, go nari řářaib

## XXXIV.

It is plain from the examples given above that the Catholic Faith was alive in Ireland just before the Normans came hither; and as regards the bad morals of the Gaels before the Normans came amongst them, it is certain that there came with the Norman Invasion five leaders who did more evil deeds than all the Gaels that lived from the time of Brian to the Norman Invasion as regards the plundering of churches and clerics, bloody deeds of treachery and violent tyranny. Here are their names, the earl of Stranguell, Robert Fitz Stephen, Hugo de Lacy, John de Courcy and William Fitz Aldelmel. It will be easy to see the truth of this from what we shall hereafter state, and in particular from the chronicle of Stanihurst, and moreover from the fact that the majority of these persons on account of their own misdeeds left behind them no son to take up his father's inheritance.

As a proof of this take the earl of Stranguell, Robert Fitz Stephen, John de Courcy and some other leaders whom we shall not mention here who came in the beginning of the conquest. And as regards Richard Stranguell, according to Stanihurst's chronicle after he had committed many robberies and sacrileges against the laity and the church, he died in Ath Cliath seven years after he had come to Ireland, in the year of the Lord 1177; and the only progeny by Aoife, daughter of Diarmaid, that survived him was one daughter called Isabella, and that daughter was married to William Maruscal, and she bore him five sons and five daughters, and the sons died one after another, no offspring or heir remaining after any of them, and the daughters were married to a number of

an t-iarla mac aḡ gabáil oisḡreáda ari féin áct mar  
rin.

- Dála hugo ve lacy marí fuairí ceannar ón oaríá henrí  
 5620 ari an míde, do gabad aḡ maríbad ír aḡ vóiceannad éloinne  
 Colmáin ír uairle na míde an méio ari a bfaḡbad rcriob  
 vob, aḡur ari mbeir aḡ véanaí oúnruirí oainḡin i nOir-  
 máisḡ ran míde, táinḡs ouine uaral ós von míde i ḡcrut  
 foúine mé véanaí oibhe vó, ḡur maríbad hugo léir.  
 5625 Aveirí crioic Stanihuirí ḡur ouine ainmíanaḡ oiríreáḡ  
 ró-fainncaḡ an hugo-ro. Aveirí marí an ḡcéana ḡur  
 ḡab hugo ós a mīac roin ír Seon ve Curyc do láim iomaḡ  
 cpeáḡ ír maríḡa ír oibfeirḡe do véanaí ari luḡt na míde  
 i noisḡail báir hugo. Aveirí an crioic céana ḡur ouine  
 5630 cealḡaḡ meablaḡ oioicméine uilliam mac Alvoelmel, aḡur  
 cuirí ríor marí do bean ḡo cealḡaḡ mainéirí fá reab  
 vólear vóib féin do éloinn mīuirí mīc ḡeairílt, aḡur  
 rór aveirí ḡo mbíó foimadaḡ mé mīuirí ír mé n-a éloinn do  
 ríor. Léaḡtarí rór i n-annálaib dopta éiréann ari mbeir  
 5635 o'uilliam mac Alvoelmel i ḡceannar luimnḡs ó riḡ Sacran,  
 ḡo oaríla imrearan roirí vā coimbríátarí do ríol ḡCon-  
 cúbairí fá céannar Connaḡt, marí atá Cātal Crioibúearḡ ír  
 Cātal Cāriac, aḡur do ḡab uilliam páirí Cātal Cāriaisḡ  
 i n-aḡaíó Cātal Crioibúearḡ, aḡur do ḡab Seon ve Curyc  
 5640 páirí an Cātal oile. Do biaḡaḡ an eapanta roin leat  
 ari leat lé hūilliam ír lé Seon roirí an vā Cātal ḡur  
 milleaḡ ír ḡur haireaḡ an érióḡ uile leo, ír ḡur  
 vóiceannad móráḡ o'uairlíb Connaḡt ran rparíḡ rin a  
 lor an imrearin rin, ḡo oaríla coimearcarí roirí an vā  
 5645 Cātal, aḡur ḡaill ari ḡaḡ taob aḡ congnaí leo, ḡur  
 bhuireaḡ do Cātal Cāriac ír va mīunnirí ír ḡur maríbad  
 ran veabaió rin é.

Do éirí rin do tóḡbaḡ cairléan i mīlioc uí mōaḡaḡin



English nobles, and in that way the earl did not leave a son to become his heir.

As regards Hugo de Lacy, when he received the government of Meath from Henry II. he set to slay and behead the clann Colmain and the nobles of Meath, as many of them as he could lay hold on, and as he was building a fortified residence in Durmhagh in Meath a young nobleman of Meath came in the guise of a clown to do work for him, and he slew Hugo. The chronicle of Stanihurst says that the said Hugo was a lustful and very avaricious man. It also states that young Hugo his son and John de Courcy set about committing many robberies and murders and deeds of violence upon the people of Meath to avenge the death of Hugo. The same chronicle says that William Fitz Aldelmel was deceitful, treacherous and of evil disposition, and also relates how he took by treachery from the children of Maurice Fitz Gerald manors which were their own property, and adds that he was ever envious of Maurice and of his children. Moreover, we read in the ancient annals of Ireland that when William Fitz Aldelmel was ruling in Luimneach on behalf of the king of England there arose a conflict between two brothers of the family of Conchubhar for the sovereignty of Connaught, to wit, Cathal Croibhdhearg and Cathal Carrach; and William took the part of Cathal Carrach against Cathal Croibhdhearg; and John de Courcy took the other Cathal's part. This disagreement between the two Cathals was fed on both sides by William and by John until the entire country was destroyed and plundered by them, and till many of the nobles of Connaught were beheaded in that conflict as a result of that disagreement, and a battle took place between the two Cathals, the foreigners helping them on either side, and Cathal Carrach and his followers were defeated and himself was slain in that conflict.

After that William Fitz Aldelmel built a castle in

lé hUilliam Mac Aluömel, ašur fágšair barua móri ann  
 5650 ir céio féin go luimneac. Tis Catal Croidóearš i  
 bporlongšporc 'n-a n-uét, ir vo éalouari an barua ran oitce  
 ir leanaio Uilliam go luimneac; ašur vo triarceao cair-  
 léan mīlic pé Catal Croidóearš. Do-ní Uilliam Mac  
 Aluömel cruinnušaó fluaš va éir ro, ašur tug uét ar  
 5655 Connactaib žuri cpeačao ir žuri hairgeao cealla ir tuata  
 leir ašur go vtug veařšari a vtarla va cóiri óioš; ionnur  
 uime rin žuri malluigearu cliari Connact é, amail léaštari  
 i nannálaiš aorua éireann vo rcriobaó tuairm tri éao  
 blišoan ó roin i bpríomleabari řeancura va nšairči  
 5660 leabari bpeacmic došašain. Ašur léaštari ran leabari  
 éaona žuri čuri Dia go míořbaileac, tri n-a míořníoř,  
 ainm řránna ir řalař voileiřir ari lé řruari bār  
 vėirtineac, ir nač řáimř onšaó ná aicřuře é ašur  
 nač řuairi aónacal i řcill ar bič ač i nšrámřřř  
 5665 řárariř.

Tarla eapanta va éir ro roiri řeon ve Cury ir hugo  
 óř ve lacy žuri čuitearua móřán v'ulltačaiš ir v'řearaiš  
 mīde 'n-a řraiřin, ir vo hairgeao ir vo cpeačao an va črič  
 řin vo bičin a n-impeariř; ašur vo b'i cřioč na heapanta  
 5670 roin žuri řabaó řeon ve Cury lé hugo óř ve lacy go  
 cealšač, ašur žuri cuřeao ar lám řall é, ašur vo řab  
 pé a ari triačúřeac vo čur ari. Cuřčear 'n-a řiall i  
 řacraib é, go řaibe řealao aimpře i nšlaraib ann. Tug  
 an ři pařuřn va éir řin vó, ir tug ceao vó čilleao i  
 5675 nėřinn; ašur čáimř řé ar muiri pé čriall i nėřinn, žuri  
 éimř anřao vó, žuri čilleao čari a ari von čiri é; ašur mař  
 řin vó čeiře huari vėař ař vūl ar muiri ir řa čilleao  
 go řacraib ařir, vo péři čřoinic řcaniřurč; ašur an  
 čuřmeao huari vėař čáimř ar muiri, vo řeolaó lé  
 5680 hanřao řaoitė von řřainřč é, go řřuairi bār ran črič řin.



Milioc Ui Mhadagain, and left a large garrison there and went himself to Luimneach. Cathal Croibhdhearg encamped in front of them to lay siege to them; but the garrison escaped by night and followed William to Luimneach; and Cathal Croibhdhearg razed the castle of Milioc. After this William Fitz Aldelmel got together a host and invaded Connaught, and spoiled and plundered churches and country districts, and made dreadful slaughter on all he encountered of them, so that the Connaught clergy cursed him, as we read in the ancient annals of Ireland which were written about three hundred years ago in a chief book of seanchus which was called the *Leabhar Breac* of Mac Aodhagain. And in the same book we read that God, on account of his misdeeds, in a miraculous manner, inflicted a foul deformity and an incurable disease on him through which he died a loathsome death, and that he received neither Extreme Unction nor Penance, and that he was not buried in any churchyard but in a deserted grange.

After this a quarrel commenced between John de Courcy and young Hugo de Lacy, and many of the men of Ulster and of Meath fell in the conflict, and both these regions were plundered and spoiled by reason of their quarrel. And the end of this quarrel was that John de Courcy was treacherously taken prisoner by young Hugo de Lacy and that he was delivered into the hands of the Normans; and Hugo de Lacy undertook to prefer a charge of treason against him. He was sent as a prisoner to England, where he was for a time in captivity. The king granted him a pardon after that, and gave him leave to return to Ireland, and he went to sea to proceed to Ireland, when a storm arose against him and he was put back to land, and so it befel him fourteen times, putting out to sea and being put back again to England, according to Stanihurst's chronicle; and the fifteenth time he went to sea the storm drove him to France, and he died in that country.



Léagtar san éirimic céanna sup marbað ouine uasal  
 do éine Seoin de Cucey do bí na éomnuide i nÉirinn lé  
 hugo óg de Lacy i r lé báitei de Lacy a dearbbrátaí,  
 sup fá r iomað buairéaríta i r coinbliocht va éoirc rin ioir  
 5685 éaríto an ouine uasal i r an éloinn rin hugo de Lacy,  
 ionnur sup b'éigin von rí g Seon uil rluag mói vo gallaið  
 i r vo gaeúealaid von mío de vo rmaétuag na mac roin.  
 Agus ar n-a élor rin oíð, tiallaid go Carraig Feargus,  
 i r céto an rí 'n-a otóirídeacht ann rin, agus glacaid long  
 5690 ran áit rin, i r tiallaid ar teiteað von fpaingc, go  
 noeacádar ar don i moct vá garríadóir vo déanam feadma  
 i lubgort abbað i mainirtir S. Taurín ran Noimantie;  
 sup éaitéadar real va n-aímrir ran mbreígmoct roin va  
 noirliugad féin, sup léigeadar i gceann aímíre va éir  
 5695 rin a rún iur an abbaí, agus sup iarríadar aír imríde vo  
 éur ar rí g Sacran um ríotéain i r um máitíneacáir vo  
 éadairt oíð. Agus fuair an t-abbaí an ní rin oíð,  
 go otángadar i nÉirinn amlaí rin i noiaí an ríog vo  
 éadairt aír g a bfoia i r a bfeapainn oíð; agus fuair an  
 5700 rí Seon bá r va éir rin, an ran fá haoir von Tígearna 1216.

Tárla fó r va éir rin ré linn an ttear Henrí cogad  
 mói ioir hugo óg de Lacy i r Uilliam Marpucál sup  
 millead an mío uile leo i r sup éuiteadar morán de  
 gaeúealaid va gac leir ag congnaí leo. Tárla fó r  
 5705 cogad mói ioir Miléir i r Séacríuró Moiréir i r Uilliam  
 Marpucál sup millead morán o'feapaid laigean i r  
 Muíhan eatorra va gac leir.

Doeir hanmer 'n-a éirimic sup hearcainead Uilliam  
 Marpucál lé hearrog Fearna tré vá mainéar va feilb  
 5710 féin vo buain de; agus ar mbeir coinnealbáirte óó, fuair  
 bá r i Sacraib; agus vo bpi g nar b'áil lé n-a éloinn aipeas  
 vo éadairt ran feilb rin, fuairíadar a éúigear mac bá r  
 oiaí i noiaí, gan neac ag gabáil oigheacá ar don oíð;  
 agus vo éuaí an Miléir éuar go Cluain Mic Nóir go  
 5715 rluag líonmair 'n-a foéar, go noeapíadar forlonggort vá  
 oíde déag ann; agus sup hairgead leo an baile ioir éroð

We read in the same narrative that a nobleman of the family of John de Courcy who dwelt in Ireland was slain by young Hugo de Lacy and by Walter de Lacy his brother, so that many quarrels and conflicts arose between the nobleman's friends and the sons of Hugo de Lacy to whom we have referred, so that king John was forced to go with a great host of foreigners and Gaels to Meath to chastise these sons. And when they heard this they proceeded to Carraig Fhearghusa, and the king pursued them thither, and they took ship there and fled to France, and both went in disguise as two gardeners to work in the garden of an abbot in the abbey of S. Taurin in Normandy, and they passed some time in that disguise, remaining concealed; and some time afterwards they made their secret known to the abbot and asked him to beseech the king of England to make peace with them and forgive them; and the abbot obtained this for them, and they came to Ireland under these circumstances, the king having restored them to their rank and to their lands; and king John died after this in the year of the Lord 1216.

After this also in the time of Henry III. there arose a great war between young Hugo de Lacy and William Maruscal, and they destroyed all Meath, and many Gaels fell on either side helping them. A great war also took place between Myler and Geoffrey Moireis and William Maruscal; and many men of Leinster and Munster were destroyed between them on either side.

Hanmer says in his narrative that William Maruscal was cursed by the bishop of Farna for his having taken from him two manors which he possessed as his private property; and, having been excommunicated, he died in England; and since his children did not wish to restore that property the five sons died one after another, none of them having left an heir. And the above-mentioned Myler went to Cluain Mic Nois with a numerous host, where they encamped twelve nights, and they plundered the



ir bialó; agus fós vo hairgead teampuill ir easailre an baile mar an gcéona leo.

- Mar tugadair iomorroo Gaéil na n-aire anflaitear ir  
 5720 éagcóir cheadaó ir ceallargain na ruinge adubart,  
 agus fós mar vo hairgead Lior Mór go n-a tearmonn lé  
 Heimont Morici ir lé Réamonn de la Dóir, vo péir éioinic  
 Stanihuyr, tar ceann go nheadaó an Heueur nó  
 Heimont céona i n-aibio manais ir sup tógais mainir-  
 5725 tear Óuin bpoit i gconntae Locha Garman, an tan fá  
 haoir von Tigearna II79, i gcúitugad na n-alc vo rinne  
 i nÉirinn, agus mar an gcéona mar vo hairgead easlair  
 Inre Catais ir a tearmonn mar don lé hiomav o'easlairib  
 oile lé William Mac Alvelmel, agus aifir mar ir é ní  
 5730 na tugadair na Gaill céona aire, tré iomav uaille  
 uadair ir anuaille vo beit ag fár ionnta féin, riorma  
 riom vo bialaó eatorra féin, agus beit ag clóó ir ag  
 caiteam na nGaéual ioir gac dá rann oíob, ir nac raibe  
 uíl aca, amail vo raoilead lé Gaéualais, ceartugad vo  
 5735 déanam ar éireveam ná learuad ar bédais i nÉirinn,  
 ir ead vo méaradair Gaéil iad féin vo fadad ó anbrui  
 na ruinge rin. Agus uime rin tangaadair riong o'uarlib  
 Gaéual go teac Concubair Maonmuisge rios Connacht vo  
 tabairt ceannuir oipa féin nó, ar mbeit 'n-a comnuiré nó  
 5740 i nDún Leóga i nUib Maine.

- Ar utir táinig Domnall ó brian ní luimnis ir  
 Ruairí Mac Duinn Sléibe ní Ulaó agus Domnall Mac  
 Carrtaig ní Dearmuidan, Maolreaclainn beag ní Míde,  
 agus Ó Ruairc ní Ó mbruiuin ir Conmaicne 'n-a teac agus  
 5745 sibé comairle ar ar cinnead leo, pul vo críochnuigead i vo  
 marbad Concubair go cinneamnad.

Ir follur ar na neitib vo luaitéamar anuas supab  
 o'anflaitear ir o'éagcóir ir na neamcoiméad ar a nólige  
 féin ag uadairánais Gall i nÉirinn, táinig iomav vo



town, carrying off cattle and food, and also they plundered its temples and churches.

When indeed the Gaels observed the tyranny and injustice, the spoliation and sacrilege the people I have referred to had committed, and also how Lios Mor with its termon lands was plundered by Herimont Morti and by Raymond de la Gros, according to Stanihurst's chronicle, although the said Herveus or Herimont donned a monk's habit and built the abbey of Dun Broith in the county of Loch Garman in the year of the Lord 1179 to expiate the evil he had done in Ireland, and in like manner how William Fitz Aldelmel plundered the church of Inis Cathach and its termon lands, as well as many other churches, and, moreover, that what these same Normans, through the excess of vanity, pride and haughtiness that had grown up in them, paid attention to, was to keep up constant dissension among themselves and to destroy and waste the Gaels between each of their pairs of factions, and that they had no mind, as the Gaels thought, to reform religion or to correct morals in Ireland,—observing these things the Gaels thought to rid themselves of the oppression of these people. And accordingly a body of Gaelic nobles went to the house of Conchubhar of Maonmhagh, king of Connaught, who dwelt at Dun Leogha in Ui Maine, to make him ruler over them.

First Domhnall O Briain, king of Luimneach, and Ruaidhri Mac Duinnsleibhe, king of Ulidia, and Domhnall Mac Carrthaigh, king of Desmond, Maoilseachlainn Beag, king of Meath, and O Ruairc, king of Ui Briuin and Conmhaicne, went to his house, and whatever the counsel they adopted, Conchubhar was fatefully slain before they had put it into execution.

It is plain from the facts we have stated above, that it was owing to tyranny and wrong and the want of fulfilling their own law on the part of the Norman leaders in Ireland that there was so much resistance on

5750 neamhúhla na nGaeócal vo rmaét Gall. Óir ní meafaim go  
 bfuil cine ran Eorpaic ir mó vo biaó uimál vo ólúge ionáio  
 Éipeannais dá mionntí cométiom an ólúgíó mú: ašur ir i ro  
 teirt vo-beir Seon Daup ran leatanaó óéiréannac von  
 céioleabpán vo rcpioó ar Éirinn oipia. Aš ro mar ašoir:  
 5755 a“ Ní fuil cine fán ngréin lé n-ar ab anna ceapir ir  
 cométiom bpeiteamhaidir ní ir fearu ionáio Éipeannais, ašur  
 ir mó vo biaó fáruigíte lé n-a éur i ngníom ioná iao,  
 bíóó fupab 'n-a n-ašaió féin vo biaó, áct go bfašuaoir  
 vion ir fočar an ólúgíó an ran iarpiaio é ar éur com-  
 5760 éruim.”

Ir iontuigíte a teirt an ušuaip-re naó vo ópocóúil i  
 néipeanncaib vo bioul i n-eapuhla go minic ar an nólúge,  
 áct mó neamícomall na n-uáctarián ar cométiom an ólúgíó  
 vo mionn mú.

5765 Tánšavaip taoirig oile i néirinn i ocúr Šabáltair  
 Gall i n-éašmaip an éurip vo luaióeamar éuar naó  
 veapna na feilbeapra vo pónrat an cúgeap céaona, ašur  
 vo junne mópán maiteapa i néirinn maille pé cóšbáil  
 ceampull ir mainipteac pé váil fóio pé haltóip vo  
 5770 éléipicib va gočušaó, ir pé hiomao veigšnióm oile ó foim  
 amaó vo véanaím, go ocuš Dia vo fočar va éionn foim vóib  
 iomao vo fleáctuib uaple vo veit ar a loipš anú i néirinn,  
 mar acáio Šeapaltaig ir búpcaig, builtéapraig ir bapraig,  
 Cúipraig ir Róipraig, Puéipig, Clann Muiup ir Špáraig ir  
 5775 Ppionnvaipšáraig, Pléimionnais, Puirpéalais ir Ppior-  
 vúnais, Noionnionnais ir bpeáctais, Cóibinig ir Suir-  
 téalais ir bluinnpinig, clann feorapir, Connvúnais, ir  
 Cantualais, Veibpupraig, Dairipúig, ir Diolmáinig,  
 Moipéirig, Earmontais, Léirig, búpnaig, ir Kéitinnig,  
 5780 ir iomao vo fleáctuib uaple oile Seanšall táinig ó  
 taoirpéacuib oile vóib ná luaióeam annpo.

a. There is noe nation of people under the sunn that doeth love  
 equall and indifferent iustice better than the Irish, or will rest better  
 satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves,  
 soe as they maie have the protection and benefitt of the lawe when  
 uppon iust occation they doe desire it.

FINIT.



the part of the Gaels to the Norman yoke. For I do not think there is a race in Europe who would be more obedient to law than the Irish if the law were justly administered to them. And this is the testimony which John Davies gives of them in the last page of the first book which he has written on Ireland. Thus does he speak: "There is no nation under the sun that love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, provided they have the protection and benefit of the law when upon just occasion they do desire it."

From the testimony of this author it is to be inferred that it was not through evil disposition on the part of the Irish that they often rebelled against the law, but through the rulers often failing to administer the law justly to them.

Other leaders came to Ireland in the beginning of the Norman Invasion, besides the five we have named above, who did not commit the deeds of treachery that the said five committed, and who did much good in Ireland by building churches and abbeys and giving church lands to clerics for their support, together with many other good deeds besides, and God gave them as a return for this that there are many descendants after them at this day in Ireland, to wit, the Gearaltaigh and the Burcaigh, the Builtearaigh and the Barraigh, the Cursaigh and the Roistigh, the Puerigh and the Grasaigh, and the Prionndarghasaigh, the Pleimonnaigh, the Puirsealaigh and the Priorsdunaigh, the Noinnsionnaigh and the Breathnaigh, the Toibinigh and the Suirtealaigh and the Bloinnsinigh, the clann Feorais, the Conndunaigh, the Cantualaigh, the Deibhriusaigh, the Dairsidhigh, the Diolmhainigh, the Easmonaigh, the Leisigh, the Brunaigh and the Keitinnigh, and many other descendants of the Norman nobles who sprang from other leaders whom we shall not name here.

THE END.





## TEXTUAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

The mss. cited as M, M<sub>1</sub>, M<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>3</sub>, M<sub>4</sub>, M<sub>5</sub>, S, D, F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>2</sub>, R, W, H, are described in the Introduction at the beginning of Vol. II. of this work. M<sub>1</sub>, M<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>3</sub>, M<sub>5</sub>, S, are by the same scribe, John, son of Torna O'Mulchonry. M<sub>1</sub> and S and latter portion of M<sub>2</sub> (from line 453: onwards) being in the archaic style; M<sub>2</sub> (H 5 32, T.C.D.) has been used as the basis of the text as far as line 435:; M<sub>3</sub> (No. 2, King's Inns' Ir. mss.) taking its place from line 435: to the end.

1.  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau$  M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>.

10. In the Latin at foot of page the word Christianum is given before Religionem in Sanderus's book.

11.  $\acute{\sigma}\upsilon\tau$  sic M<sub>2</sub> which writes  $\sigma\upsilon\tau$  oftener than  $\acute{\sigma}\upsilon\tau$  in this sense.

12.  $\acute{\sigma}\tau$  after  $\delta\alpha$ , om. several mss.

41.  $\upsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ , in translation *read* Ussher; the same correction applies to the occurrence of this name in l. 4703.

50.  $\alpha\iota\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\alpha\theta$  M<sub>2</sub>; R as in text.

76-196. From  $\delta\iota\tau$  of 76 to beginning of line 196 om. F<sub>1</sub>.

88.  $\xi\alpha\lambda\lambda$  om. M<sub>2</sub>. RHW have the following after  $\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\iota$ :  $\xi\iota\theta\epsilon\alpha\theta$   $\acute{\sigma}\tau$   $\sigma\upsilon\lambda$   $\sigma\circ$   $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\sigma\eta\sigma\alpha\theta$   $\mu\alpha\sigma$   $\theta\tau\iota\alpha\iota\iota$   $\theta\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\alpha\iota\iota$   $\sigma\circ\iota$   $\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta$   $\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\iota$   $\sigma\upsilon\beta\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\tau$   $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$   $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\iota$   $\acute{\sigma}\epsilon\upsilon\tau$   $\upsilon\alpha\iota\tau\iota\epsilon$   $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\mu\circ\iota\iota$   $\alpha\sigma\iota\tau\alpha$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$   $\acute{\sigma}\upsilon\tau$   $\sigma\circ$   $\beta\epsilon\iota\tau$   $\acute{\alpha}\xi$   $\epsilon\alpha\tau\tau\circ\varsigma$   $\eta\alpha$   $\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta$   $\sigma\tau\iota\iota\alpha$   $\sigma\circ$   $\theta\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\xi\circ$   $\mu\beta\iota\sigma\iota\tau$   $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\iota$   $\epsilon\alpha\tau\tau\circ\iota\tau\alpha\theta$   $\mu\epsilon$   $\acute{\sigma}\tau\iota\iota\epsilon$   $\tau\alpha$   $\iota\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\iota\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\mu\circ\iota\iota$ . As this passage is practically a repetition, and as it is om. in M<sub>2</sub>, etc., it has not been included in the text.

89-194. Given in M<sub>2</sub>, om. M<sub>1</sub>S, 7c.; given in a different position in DR, etc., more generally omitted than inserted; om. F<sub>2</sub> in this place, but it gives the passage in its account of Brian's reign.

92.  $\alpha\iota\tau\tau\iota\iota$   $\iota\tau$   $\mu\acute{\iota}$  M<sub>2</sub>. 94.  $\iota\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\upsilon\iota\theta\epsilon$  M<sub>2</sub>,  $\iota\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\upsilon\iota\theta\iota\circ\theta$  in 95 in same ms.

174.  $\xi\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\iota\iota$  ms.

259.  $\sigma\epsilon\alpha\delta\eta\mu\alpha\theta$  M<sub>2</sub>, as in text M<sub>1</sub>.

266.  $\sigma\epsilon\alpha\delta\eta\mu\alpha\theta$ , twice M<sub>2</sub>.

280.  $\epsilon\alpha\theta$  ms.

281.  $\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\iota$   $\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  M<sub>2</sub>,  $\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\mu\alpha\theta$  M<sub>4</sub>F<sub>1</sub>S;  $\upsilon\mu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$   $\mu\iota\iota\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$  F<sub>2</sub>. It would appear from the quatrain here that the orders conferred on the  $\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$  were episcopal orders, if the Irish seancha is to be understood as agreeing with Nennius. If fifty-five be added to three hundred we get Nennius's number. The word  $\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$  or  $\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\mu\alpha\theta$  I have not met elsewhere. But it is possible that the ordination intended by the seancha is that of the priesthood; 55 bishops would not be such a fabulous number, especially if we consider some of them as succeeding to sees of others, but 355 seems an excessive number; see however a list of 276 extinct sees in Mac Firbis's tract in Rawlinson 400 (copy in R.I.A., 24 C. 7). Nennius mss. give 365 and 345. See Stevenson's Ed., p. 45.

354.  $\alpha\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\alpha\theta$   $F_1M_2$ ;  $\alpha\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\alpha\theta$   $F_2$ .  
 370.  $\beta\rho\sigma\sigma\sigma$   $M_2$ .  
 371.  $\rho\iota\sigma\sigma\sigma$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\lambda\alpha$   $F_1$ ;  $\rho\iota\sigma\sigma\sigma$   $\beta\alpha\iota\sigma\lambda\epsilon$   $F_2$ .  
 372.  $\tau\sigma\rho\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $MM_1$ .  
 373.  $\sigma\alpha$   $\sigma\omicron\mu\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\theta$   $M_2$ ; mss. generally as in text.  
 384.  $\lambda\epsilon\alpha\gamma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho$  sic  $M_2$ , which however generally uses but one aspiration point in this word;  $M_1$  invariably as in text.  
 412.  $\alpha\tau$   $\phi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\alpha\rho$  some copies. 414.  $\mu\upsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota\gamma$  ms. here, but generally as in text.  
 424.  $\acute{o}$   $\gamma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho$   $F_1F_2$ ,  $\acute{o}$   $\xi\epsilon\iota\sigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\tau$   $M_1$ . 427.  $\rho\eta\iota\eta$   $M_2$ ,  $M_1$  as in text.  
 430.  $\rho\omicron\iota\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda$   $M_2$ .  
 435.  $\beta\phi\epsilon\alpha\rho\tau$  is the form in  $M_1M_2$  and so generally in these mss.  
 463.  $\mu\omicron\iota\sigma\rho$  ms. 464.  $\sigma\alpha\sigma\eta\sigma\sigma\sigma$   $M_2$ ;  $\sigma\alpha\sigma\eta\sigma\sigma\sigma$   $M_1$ ;  $\sigma\acute{o}\iota\sigma\sigma$   $F_1$ .  
 465.  $\sigma\alpha\sigma\eta\sigma\sigma\sigma$ . Cormac's glossary derives the name of the Seanchus Mor thus:—Noes .i.  $\acute{n}\acute{o}$ -fhiss .i.  $\acute{f}$ is nonba[i]r .i. tri rig  $\gamma$  tri  $\acute{n}\acute{o}\acute{\iota}\beta$   $\gamma$  tri said .i. said filidechta  $\gamma$  said litre  $\gamma$  said belra  $\acute{F}$ h $\acute{e}$ ni batarsin uli  $\acute{o}$ c $\acute{e}$ n $\acute{a}$ n $\acute{a}$ n intSenchusa máir, inde dicitur:—

Laeguire Corc Dáire dúr  
 Patraic Beneoin Cairnech coir  
 Ross Dubthach Fergus cofheib,  
 IX sailge sin Senchais moir.

465.  $\sigma\alpha\sigma\eta\sigma\sigma$   $M_1$ , which *read*. 466.  $\sigma\alpha\sigma\eta\sigma\sigma$   $M_1M_2$ , which *read*.  
 468.  $\sigma\epsilon\alpha\rho\tau\gamma\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma$   $F_2$ . 469.  $\gamma\epsilon\alpha\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho$   $\rho\alpha$   $\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta\epsilon$   $\rho\sigma\sigma$   $M_1$ .  
 471.  $\acute{r}\acute{\iota}$   $\mu\iota\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\epsilon$   $\mu\upsilon\eta\mu\alpha\sigma$   $\gamma\alpha\sigma$   $\theta\epsilon\iota\eta\gamma$   $M_1$ ,  $M_2$  as in text.  
 473.  $\sigma\upsilon\beta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\epsilon$   $\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma$   $\hbar\upsilon\iota$   $\lambda\upsilon\gamma\alpha\rho$   $\sigma\omicron$   $\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma$   $MM_2$ ,  $M_1$  as in text.  
 478.  $\alpha\rho$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\epsilon$   $M_1F_1F_2$ . 547.  $\sigma\omicron\iota\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\alpha\chi$   $M$ . 548.  $\sigma\omicron\iota\sigma\gamma\epsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha\chi$   $M$ .  
 575.  $\gamma\alpha\sigma$   $\sigma\iota\rho\epsilon\alpha\sigma\alpha\rho$   $F_1$ .  
 577.  $\alpha\gamma\upsilon\iota\theta$   $\sigma\alpha\gamma\alpha\iota\theta$   $\mu\epsilon$   $\sigma\alpha\iota\sigma\sigma\sigma$   $M_1$ ;  $\alpha\gamma\epsilon$   $\alpha\rho$   $\alpha\gamma\alpha\iota\theta$   $\gamma\epsilon$ ,  $M_2$ .  
 578.  $\acute{r}\acute{\iota}$   $\sigma\omicron\sigma\eta\alpha\epsilon\tau$   $M_1$ ;  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda$   $M_2$ ;  $\sigma\omicron\sigma\eta\alpha\epsilon\tau$   $F_1$ ,  $F_2$  as in text.  
 579.  $\mu\epsilon$   $\sigma\epsilon\alpha\sigma\tau\upsilon\rho$   $\rho\acute{o}$   $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\epsilon$   $\rho\iota\sigma\rho$   $MM_2F_2F_1$  (with slight variations), as in text  $M_1$ .  
 580.  $\alpha\iota\sigma\sigma\gamma\upsilon\gamma$   $M_2$ ; as in text  $M_1$ ;  $\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon$   $M_1M_2$ .  
 581.  $\alpha\sigma$   $\alpha\iota\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$   $M_1$ . 583.  $\alpha\iota\sigma\beta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\epsilon$   $M_1$ ,  $\alpha\iota\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\epsilon$   $M_2$ .  
 584.  $\rho\omicron\iota\sigma$   $M_1M_2$ ; in translation *insert* comma after 'they.'  
 594-7. I.L. 46 a 16, gives the following version of this quatrain:—

$\alpha\iota\epsilon\beta\epsilon$   $\lambda\omicron\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\sigma$   $\acute{n}\acute{e}\iota\lambda\lambda$   
 $\iota\sigma\epsilon\beta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho\iota$   $\gamma\lambda\alpha\rho$   $\alpha$   $\tau\iota\rho$   
 $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon$   $\sigma\acute{e}$   $\sigma\alpha\rho\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\sigma$   $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\iota\lambda$   
 $\tau\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau$   $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\iota\lambda$   $\beta\alpha\iota\rho$   $\rho\omicron\iota\rho$   $\iota\sigma$   $\mu\gamma$ .

The B. Bal. version (p. 48 b) is:—

$\alpha\epsilon\theta\alpha\epsilon$   $\lambda\omicron\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\sigma$   $\acute{n}\acute{e}\iota\lambda\lambda$   
 $\rho\omicron\iota\rho$   $\tau\alpha\epsilon\beta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota\rho\mu\epsilon$   $\gamma\lambda\alpha\rho$   $\alpha$   $\tau\iota\rho$   
 $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon$   $\sigma\acute{e}$   $\sigma\omicron\rho\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\sigma$   $\mu\alpha\epsilon$   
 $\tau\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau$   $\sigma\alpha\lambda$   $\beta\alpha\iota\rho$   $\rho\omicron\iota\rho$   $\mu\gamma$   $\mu\gamma$ ,



595.  $\Delta\pi$   $\epsilon\alpha\theta\beta$   $\xi\lambda\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon$   $\lambda\iota\phi\epsilon$   $\Delta$   $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $F_1$ ;  $\Delta\pi$   $\epsilon\alpha\theta\beta$   $\xi\lambda\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon$   $\lambda\iota\phi\epsilon$   $\Delta\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\pi$   $M_2$ ;  $M_1$  as in text.

596.  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\epsilon$   $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$   $\sigma\sigma$   $\mu\alpha\sigma\gamma\alpha$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau$   $M_1$ ;  $\Delta\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\iota\sigma$   $M_2$ .

597.  $\Delta\pi$   $M_2$ ,  $\epsilon\phi\sigma$   $M_1$ . The quatrain is also quoted in *Annals of the Four Masters*, Vol. I. p. 144.

$\sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon$   $\sigma\epsilon$   $\sigma\sigma$   $\mu\alpha\pi\beta$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\tau$ .

$\Delta\pi$   $\acute{\iota}$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $\sigma\alpha\lambda$   $\beta\alpha\iota\mu$   $\Delta\pi$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta$ .

Sic  $MF_1$  and  $F_2$  (with slight changes).

707.  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\pi$  is the reading in *An. F.M.*, Vol. I. p. 152;  $\mu\upsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$   $\mu\acute{o}\iota\pi$   $F_1M$ .

710.  $\acute{o}$   $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma$   $M$ .

721.  $\mu\acute{o}\rho$   $\gamma$   $M$ ;  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $M$ .

753.  $\Delta\pi$   $\Delta$   $\beta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma$   $M_2$ ;  $M_1$  as in text,  $\Delta\pi$   $\Delta$   $\beta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma$   $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda$   $MF_1$ :

$\beta\alpha$   $\mu\iota\pi\epsilon\sigma$   $\Delta\pi$   $\mu\alpha\tau$   $\beta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma$

$\sigma\sigma$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $\mu\epsilon\iota\sigma$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\lambda$   $F_2$ .

765-774. from  $\iota\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma$  to beginning of 775  $\sigma\iota\mu$ .  $F_1M$ .

787.  $\mu\upsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda$   $F_1$ ;  $\mu\upsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda$   $F_2$ .

815.  $\mu\iota\pi$   $\beta\alpha$   $\mu\alpha\pi\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\beta\alpha\tau$   $F_1$ ;  $\mu\iota\pi$   $\beta\alpha$   $\mu\alpha\pi\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\sigma\iota\mu$   $B$ . *Lism.*  $F_2$ ; *read*  $\mu\alpha\pi\mu\epsilon\sigma$ , and in translation *read* No  $\mu\alpha\pi$  woman was she.

817.  $\sigma\sigma$   $F_2$  for  $\acute{o}$ .

884.  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $\sigma\iota\mu$ .  $M_1$ .

894-906.  $\sigma\iota\mu$ .  $M_1$  here; it gives the passage later on. This passage occurs in several *mss.*, but not in the same place in all.

932.  $\sigma\iota\mu$  for  $\mu\alpha$   $M_1$ ;  $\sigma\iota\mu$ .  $\Delta\pi$   $M_1$ ;  $\sigma\iota\mu$ . whole clause  $R$ .

937.  $\sigma\sigma$   $\mu\alpha\tau$  for  $\Delta\pi$   $M_1$ .

940. In translation for a favourite with Guaire *read* one of Guaire's officers.

1047.  $\mu\alpha\tau$   $S$ . 1049.  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $M_1$ ;  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $M_2$ ;  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $S$ ;  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $R$ ;  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $F_2$ ;  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $F_1$ .

1113.  $\mu\alpha$   $\epsilon$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $D$ ;  $\Delta\pi$   $\epsilon$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $M_1M_2SF_1$ ;  $\Delta\pi$   $\epsilon$   $\Delta\pi$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon$ ,  $RF_2$ .

1114.  $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda$   $M_1M_2SRF_2$ ;  $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda$   $DM_1$ .

1115.  $\mu\alpha\tau$  is the general reading of the *mss.*;  $M_2$  alone has  $\mu\alpha\tau$ , which *read*;  $\mu\alpha\tau$  means a choice; in  $F_2$  the dot on the  $\sigma$  is doubtful.

1164.  $\acute{o}$   $\Delta$   $\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$   $\gamma\epsilon$ ,  $M_2S$ ;  $\acute{o}$   $\Delta$   $\sigma\iota\sigma$   $M_2$ ;  $\acute{o}$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $M_2F_2$ ;  $\acute{o}$   $\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$   $RF_2$ .

1167.  $\Delta\pi$   $\mu\alpha$   $\Delta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma$   $D$ .

1174.  $M_1$  as in text;  $\mu\alpha\pi\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\alpha\tau$   $\Delta\mu\iota\sigma$   $\Delta\pi$   $\Delta$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $M_2RF_1DM_2F_2M$  (with slight changes);  $\Delta\pi$   $\Delta\mu$   $\mu\beta\iota\sigma$   $D$ .  $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma\mu\iota\sigma$   $\mu\alpha$   $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $S$ .

1176.  $\epsilon$   $\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\alpha\sigma$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $\Delta\pi$   $\mu\beta\iota\sigma$   $S$ .

1247.  $\mu\iota\sigma$  is the most common *ms.* form, that is the  $\gamma$  undotted.

1249.  $\mu\alpha\tau$   $F_1F_2$ .

1264.  $\mu\iota\sigma$   $\mu\alpha\tau$   $\mu\alpha\tau$   $D$ ;  $\mu\alpha$  for  $\gamma\epsilon$   $M_1$ .

1265.  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $S$ ;  $\sigma\iota\mu$   $F_1F_2$ .

1273.  $\mu\alpha$   $\mu\iota\sigma$  is the usual reading;  $\mu\iota\sigma$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $F_1M$ ;  $\mu\iota\sigma$   $\mu\iota\sigma$   $F_2$ .

1274.  $\Delta\mu\iota\sigma$   $M_1M_2$ ;  $M_1$  as in text;  $\Delta\mu\iota\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $F_1$ ;  $\Delta\mu\iota\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $M_2$ .

1276.  $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $S$ .

1277.  $\gamma\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$ ,  $\Delta\pi$   $\sigma\iota\mu$ .  $RF_1$ .

1271-8. The following is the version of the two stanzas given in  $LB$  p. 238c.

$\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\sigma\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$

$\sigma\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$

$\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$

$\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\sigma$

1286. τὰ παρ σοῖς μοελκάβας ἀν εἰς  
 Κοινομένο τεορὰ μβλιασαν μβινο  
 μέδραιο cullá brachá bain  
 1287. οὐ ceneol uelboai oemai.

The LU version is nearly identical (p. 5. b 21).

1286. τὰ παρ σοῖς μοελκάβας ἀν εἰς F<sub>1</sub>. 1288. ἐραῖο S, ευραῖο R.  
 1296. ρό ρριότ for ρριότα S, ρριότ R. ρριότ F<sub>2</sub>, ρριότ F<sub>1</sub>.  
 1298. ρίος D and some other copies.  
 1299. read η-εἰσεαρ, the ε having dropped out during printing.  
 1324. ραλμ S. 1325. οεοόσιν M<sub>2</sub>M<sub>3</sub>, as in text M<sub>1</sub>; καοσα, τριότα, R.  
 1367. ἀν ρα M<sub>2</sub>, μόρσάι S, ιρ ιν M<sub>1</sub>D. 1416. κορρ M<sub>2</sub>M<sub>3</sub>D.  
 1417. ρο lom M<sub>2</sub>M<sub>3</sub>D; ρο luinn M<sub>1</sub>. 1418. hiniit S.  
 1419. beit some mss. 1474. nīr ērom S, γαδα F<sub>1</sub>.  
 1561. όm S, om RM<sub>1</sub>.  
 1579. ό Cuinn comal ngle S, comol M<sub>1</sub>, comall F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>2</sub>M; cf. Δ όύ όυλαῖνν  
 comuill ngle, 23 K. 17, p. 226; ό for ua M<sub>1</sub>.  
 1582. όsmál SM<sub>1</sub>, oemal M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>. 1602. Socher mss.  
 1623. όριόε M<sub>1</sub>, cpióe generally. 1624. noρuιng S.  
 1631-2. nat bí DM<sub>2</sub>M<sub>3</sub>; náo bí M<sub>1</sub>S; noo bí F<sub>2</sub>; the LB version reads:  
 ετθνι ἀρεχθα na biu  
 ιn ριγαν οο όορρριγυ. so also LU.  
 1641. ξαῖνι M<sub>2</sub>DM<sub>3</sub>; M<sub>1</sub> as in text; ξιόé for ξιόé R.  
 1642. λυίε and λυιόé are common readings; λξί S<sub>1</sub>; λίε M<sub>1</sub> as in  
 text.  
 1643. εαρρναίξ M<sub>1</sub>S, also D, which has εαρρναé written first; εαρρναé F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>2</sub>.  
 1644. ρά léιρ con οο ρέιρσεό γαοτ S. 1649. ραν biot báin M<sub>2</sub>M<sub>3</sub>D.  
 1650. ρά ραότρναé cuing Δ όορρράιν M<sub>2</sub>M<sub>3</sub>D, ραότρναé cuing F<sub>1</sub>, M<sub>1</sub> as in  
 text.  
 1656. τρι bliaóna ceáτρναéτ οίόδ S.  
 1658. οο bí an álβαιν οέιρ έίριονν M<sub>1</sub>. 1659. οέιρ for ο'αίτλε S.  
 1664. γιν for γαν M<sub>2</sub>. 1666. ρον M<sub>1</sub>.  
 1667. ρο αττά M; ρό αττά S.  
 1667-8. leic, bρiγeic the final word M<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>1</sub> as in text.  
 1672. M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub> om. Δ, M<sub>1</sub> gives Δ; Δ om. generally in Keating mss., given,  
 however, in S and in older copies of the quatrain.  
 1673. λόρ Δ biuoe uar γαé cléιρ M<sub>1</sub>; uar for όρ S.  
 1675. Δ ρέιμεανν Keating mss. generally, the Δ is om. in older copies of  
 the quatrain; M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub> have Δ ρέιμεανν.  
 1702. ξλαῖνε M<sub>2</sub>. 1722. mbairpinn M<sub>1</sub>, mbairpinn M<sub>2</sub>.  
 1738. ουβτάιξ όυινν SM<sub>1</sub>F<sub>2</sub>. 1742. μόιρ M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>.  
 1743. le M<sub>1</sub>, pé M<sub>2</sub>. 1745. τινγνάιρ S.  
 1752. flainge M<sub>1</sub>. In translation *dile* (or Long?).  
 1767. ρυάέυμα M<sub>2</sub>, ρυαόέυμα M<sub>1</sub>; see An. F. M. Vol. I. p. 226 for a  
 version of this quatrain.

1769. *doð sláine go na rluagcturad S*; *M*<sub>1</sub> has the same but om. *na*.  
 1770. In translation *read* Roin. 1802. *huib MM<sub>2</sub>F<sub>2</sub>*, *uif M<sub>1</sub>* as in text.  
 1803. *rgat M<sub>1</sub>*, many mss. *cúl, rcát S*. 1804. *moige M<sub>1</sub>*.  
 1806. *uairle Connacht S*. 1807. *gan nac comhoionn M<sub>1</sub>S*.  
 1811. *brið for clú M<sub>1</sub>*. 1812. *cairceib M<sub>2</sub>*, *heire M*.  
 1813. *failbe M<sub>1</sub>*. 1816. *ar cúl for ró rcéit M<sub>2</sub>*, *gad raon téro M<sub>2</sub>*.  
 1827. *reol go re M<sub>2</sub>*, *M<sub>1</sub>* as in text. 1827-30. B. Bal. p. 54, col. b.  
     *Saran reboerz reol amne*  
     *Oircinoec renbot rine*  
     *ní valb ger bannam a ceth*  
     *Ro marb bpanoam mac echad.*  
 1828. *Seanboite M<sub>2</sub>*; the last two lines of the quatrain are from the B. Bal. version.  
     *é ní valb gan bpannam brat F<sub>1</sub>S*.  
 the quatrain is given in An. F.M. p. 229, and in the Annals of Ulster, Vol. I. p. 82; the former reads *gan bpanoul brat*, the latter *gan bpanol brat*.  
 1831. *M<sub>1</sub>* adds after *bár*: *oo marbad doð mac ainmrioc ní éirionn lé bpanoub 7 lé laighib a gcat bealaig úuin bolg*.  
 1834. *Ríhið M<sub>2</sub>*, as in text *M<sub>1</sub>*, so also in line 1844.  
 1860. *Ceanncosa M<sub>2</sub>*. 1868. *meinn M<sub>1</sub>*, *meann M<sub>2</sub>*.  
 1886. *Ratán M<sub>2</sub>*; *M<sub>1</sub>* gives nom. *Ratáin, g Ratíne, d Ratáin* which forms are used in text; *M<sub>2</sub>* does not decline the word, but writes it invariably *Ratán*.  
 1892. *com M<sub>2</sub>*; *com M<sub>1</sub>*. 1933. *conópapa M<sub>2</sub>*; *honópa M<sub>1</sub>*.  
 1942-46. *puanuib*; Keating equates this word with *veargtad* blushing or bashful, but the meaning of the word is valiant, championlike, here of course used ironically. The translation given therefore is *ad mentem auctoris*.  
 1959. *gonad* to end of page om. *M<sub>1</sub>*.  
 1961-2067. Om. S, all but a few lines. *F<sub>1</sub>* also om. most of this passage, including the poem on the Standards.  
 1987. *congáil mss*. 2006. *ola M<sub>2</sub>*.  
 2011-66. As this poem is rare and interesting the following version of it from LB which differs but little from the version in text may not be unacceptable. The very few contractions are lengthened silently.

*Aichne sam ceth meici moí*  
*Ro boi oc cloino uallais iacop,*  
*Cepc nech ar a aithle ano*  
*Oca mbeth aichne a n-anmamo.*

*Cepb Rubén peth porcobair,*  
*Rohe a meici maipogair.*  
*Né buan po éairh in cepb the,*  
*Ro len rluag maic a meice*



Երեւ Տէմեօն ուր իր մերժ,  
 Աճէ ջօւ օսաւթոճ օւերթե,  
 Տէմեօն ուր արոննա շէշաշ,  
 Իմ Ծնա ծաօ օւերթաշ.

Երեւ Լեւո Լաճէ նա հաւթե,  
 Իմօճ ճ արթօւէ Ի՛ր ճ Էաւթե,  
 Ծճ Էաւթե ծճ թլաւթի թօ  
 Աւթին նա հաւթե աճօ.

մերժի օշ Երեւ Իսօճ ճմթա,  
 Տամաւ Լեօմաւն Լանճալմա,  
 Երեւ Իսօճիւր Ին սաւր քերջի,  
 ՏԼսաւջ Օւսմաւր նա յօճցմերժի.

Երեւ Իրաշար Ին օւր ջլօւն,  
 Մերժի աւշե մար ճրթաւն,  
 Մեւնիւ թլօջ օշ յօերջի յօրեշ,  
 Իմ օն մերժի մօր մաւթեշ.

Երեւ Յաւլօւն նա թլալլ յցան,  
 ՍելՅ ճ մերժի Լօնջ Լաճէմար,  
 Ծճ ջնճէր քօր Էօննաւծ Էանճ,  
 Ըճէ նա Լօնջաւծ Լաճէմարա.

ՍելՅ Ծօւմ ալլաօ հաւթիւրիւր հիւր  
 Օշ Երեւ յերճալմ յեմնիւջ,  
 Սօն Երեւ թօ ճլէճէ քրաշի քերջի,  
 Ուր Էերշ Լօէ ման Լաճէմերժի.

մերժի օշ Երեւ Տաօ Ին ջլեօ ջաւ,  
 Մար ՍելՅ իւր քօր ծաթօլեօմաւն,  
 Ուօր ճիմ թե քրաշի քերջի,  
 Ըն թինօ թիշ ման թիջմերժի.

մերժի մար ԷարՅ Ըն յօր յերշ.  
 Էաւր օշ Երեւ Իօթթ օրօթաւ,  
 Տաւաւնիօ թօ իւրեօ ծաթճ,  
 Ին Ընեօ Սճն Ըօմարօճ.

Երեւ Եւնամին Ըն միւրիւջ միւր,  
 Ու իւ ճ մերժի օր մերժիւծ,  
 Մերժի մար Ին քօլ քճլաշ,  
 Սերջի թին Ըօեմ Ըօմարօաշ.

Երեւ Սճն ծճ օսաւթեշ Ին օրեմ,  
 Օրեճէ յեմնեշ Ըն Էսաւիշլլ,  
 Էրեմ թե հաճցւն ծճ Սօլջ Սե,  
 Մար յաճթալջ մօւր ճ մերժի.

Երեւ Գրէր ուր իրաւս իմ շիւս,  
 Թերս օտր լեն ար լոտար,  
 Թար օտր արաւլ ձ օտս,  
 Իր արեւ ձաւոտ քոտս.

Ու արթեր տալ ձ արեւս,  
 Ու արթ ար ձ արթերս,  
 Թար տալ օտրս ձ արեւ տե,  
 Ին քեր ձ ար-տաւ արեւ. Գ.Յ.Ե. Թ. Թ.

2022. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>. 2030. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>.  
 2035. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>. 2036. օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>.  
 2049. օտրոն ու քոտրոն M<sub>2</sub>; ձ M<sub>1</sub>; ոտրոն in text as in LB.  
 2050. ան օտրոն օտր օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>; ան օտրոն օտր օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>.  
 2052. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>. 2059. իմ M<sub>1</sub>.  
 2066. քեր քա ձ ար օտրոն արեւ M; քեր քա ար օտրոն արեւ M<sub>2</sub>  
 M<sub>1</sub>; text as in LB, omitting initial syllable in accordance with the Keat.  
 versions.  
 2082. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>. 2085. *dele* semicolon at end of line.  
 2090. օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>. 2093. օտր քեր M<sub>1</sub>; օտր քեր M<sub>2</sub>.  
 2096. օտ M<sub>2</sub>; քեր օտ M<sub>2</sub>; M<sub>1</sub> as in text.  
 2111. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>, but օտրոն in 2112.  
 2119. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>, but օտրոն in 2124.  
 2133. օտր օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>. 2151. ան քեր M<sub>2</sub>.  
 2143. in translation 'he was guarding' should not be in italics.  
 2152. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>; օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>. 2206. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub> as also in 2208.  
 2288. օտրոն om. M<sub>2</sub>; M<sub>1</sub> as in text. 2296. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>.  
 2327. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>, but օտրոն in 2332; օտր օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>.  
 2330. օտրոն om. M<sub>2</sub>. 2329. օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>; օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>.  
 2359. օտրոն as in text M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>.  
 2368. օտրոն; M<sub>2</sub>; M<sub>1</sub> as in text.  
 2409. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>; M<sub>1</sub> օտրոն as in text. 2419. օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>.  
 2435. օտրոն here, but օտրոն elsewhere in M<sub>2</sub> and M<sub>1</sub>, etc.  
 2448. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>. 2467. օտր M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>. 2472. օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>.  
 2480. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>; օտր M<sub>1</sub> passim; օտր accords with the modern  
 pronunciation.  
 2491. օտրոն M<sub>2</sub>; M<sub>1</sub> as in text.  
 2492. օտր is the reading of ԷM<sub>2</sub>M<sub>3</sub>; DM<sub>1</sub> read օտր, M<sub>1</sub> first wrote  
 օտր but then changed the n to o.  
 2603. օտրոն M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>; օտրոն in a few places.  
 2629-31. after քոն M<sub>1</sub>D have: օտր ան օտր օտր օտր օտր օտր օտր  
 օտր, Դ. Ե. M contracts the passage further still. As the passage stands in  
 text there is a slight confusion, as it makes the king of Cashel pay the  
 other princes what they really paid him, hence in the translation 'while  
 they gave' are inserted instead of 'and' before 'the food supply.' In  
 the reading of M<sub>1</sub>D there is no such difficulty.

## 378 TEXTUAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

2691. uib neill  $M_2$ . 2722. neapc for ni War of the Gaedhil.  
 2728-31. See this quatrain in App. to War of the Gaedhil with the Gall.  
 2756. ruaitteruoc  $M_2$ ; ruaitteruoc  $M_1$ ; ruaitteruoc War of Gaedhil. See this word in the glossary to Brehon Laws.  
 2759. gallrac  $M$ . 2772. caiteam  $M_2$  as in text.  
 2816. urruuca  $M_2$ , but urruuca above; urruuca  $M_2$ .  
 2825. cucca  $M_2$ ; cuca D, entire line om.  $M_3$ . 2847. uobuic  $M_2$ .  
 2852. beuic  $M_2$ . 2882. meann  $M_2$ ; meinn  $M_1$ .  
 2905. bailte cuan  $M_1$ ;  $M_2$   $M_3$  as in text. 2914. cuca  $M_2$  as in text.  
 2936. buiar  $M_2$ ; buiar  $M_1$ . 2970. uolcan  $M_2$ ;  $M_3$  as in text.  
 2988. echta  $M_2$ .  
 3023. The account of Cormac son of Cuileannain's death given in this section closely resembles that given in "Three Fragments of Annals," p. 200 et seq.  
 3029. a rac  $M_2$ ; oo rac  $M_3$ .  
 3031-2 from beginning of 3031 to ir uó of 3032 om.  $M_3$ , give  $M_1$   $M_2$ .  
 3061. cruic  $M_1$ ;  $M_2$   $M_3$  as in text.  
 3076. a loig  $M_2$   $M_1$ ;  $M_3$  as in text.  
 3108. eadain  $M_1$   $M_3$ ; eadain D,  $M_1$  as in text.  
 3132. ré uol  $M_2$  D; ré uol  $M_3$   $M_1$ .  
 3148. In Three Frag. for the saying ir uirua, *gc.*, we have fúillfúis ar ré oo beagmeannamnaite 7 uapuille oo éneoil tpeoso uair mac comaitis éu.  
 3178. uama, the m is not aspirated in the Keating mss. except in S. uamha in Three Fragments.  
 3179. leimin  $F_2$ .  
 3204. comdairge for comhóir  $F_2$ ; comhóir  $F_1$ .  
 3222. for ó naí fábair cuair óile. Three Frag. has na ro fábair comhóir eile.  
 3231. cuíta  $M_2$ .  
 3238. eimleir, *gc.*, Three Frag., reads eimleir eim Cormac an ní aetorad an éeo éata.  
 3347. milib  $F_1$ . 3364. Oicir  $M_2$ , but Oicir in 3366.  
 3380. meinn om.  $M_2$   $M_3$ .  
 3383-3577. The story of the Crosans was published in the Gaelic Journal (G.J.), Vol. IV. p. 106, by Dr. K. Meyer, from the ms. D IV 2 (fol. 51 b) of the Stowe Collection R.I.A., date of ms. being A.D. 1300. The same story is found in Mac Firbis's Book of Genealogies (Fir.), p. 778 (O'Curry's Transcript R.I.A.) The version given in text is the common one in the Keat. mss. of the modern type. In  $M_1$  the story is given in the same form as in the Stowe ms. and Mac Firbis. It may be noted that the scribe of  $M_1$  left a space for the story, which was afterwards filled in and had to be continued at foot of page. I give here the prose part of the version in  $M_1$ , it will be found to correspond closely with that of the Stowe ms.



Do éúaró an Donncaó rom mac fíoinn Rí Eiríonn vo déunam múr 7 éloró atciméioll Saigre ciarain tre impióe a mna .i. Saob inéion Donncaóa peamair Rígh Oirruige, ar ba tnuít móir 7 ba formasa léire múr 7 cloró timéioll gada haincille a néirunn 7 a ceall féin .i. Saigir cen élaó cen múr. So póngasor fir mór le go tulaig nDonncaóa fir Saigir anair 7 go mbíoir ag déunam an cloró gac laite timéioll na cille. Ar ann rin vo fíacé corp a haéarri don éill oia aónacol 7 fén for feirriú agá iomóróir 7 no haónacé fo déunóir. Ó no éoréaró an aóais tángasor naonóir cporán ciabac cioróúib go mbáor for ran uais ag ciaruróicé aóail ar bér vo époránair ó hrein anall. Ba gilitóir rneacé a fuile 7 a bfiacé 7 ba uuibéir gual gabonn gac baill eile óioib. Ar aóilair immoio tángasor 7 uam leo don Rígh 7 gac uaine ao éir iao voénió galor laoi go noiréce dó. Ir i anoir an uain . .

nobíoir an éliar rin ó fearcor So maoin os ciaruróicé lar an'uain rin for rin uais 7 gac uaine vo féugab iao vo énió galor laoi go noiréce dó. Cor far ceir os laócaib 7 os cléiricib vo rin, air ba hionga veamna go pollur ag comaitioé an níg lánéiribéig. Ba heaó go immoio ní oia crábad .i. poóail bíó 7 leanna oi boócaib an éoimbeaó 7 na n-uile pobol gada féile apical ingac airóicill a noirruige 7 alearam vé ceacá tige a noirruige ar rin a éreirine timéil 7 trí peillée gada tige .i. peilleac veaémuróe 7 peilleac míneann 7 peilleac tuircín cipe 7 beir fo bpeir 7 fo fcoriúir ó rin amac go noearurao na cléirig éréirionar fir oia go bfoillrigé oóib cró immar leamrao na veamna é. Co nur-cáing aingiol vé i bér vo éum céile vé vo éimé fíacac míc néill 7 acbeart. Ar maie ar ré anvearurabair an cporgaó, 7 naonóir vo éléir ógcoingéiró iao ól ré 7 ar é fo an trear feacé tángasor a néirunn a hifearn 7 ó nar feurao ní don Rígh na beaóar ar aipe acá iao na ég agá aóeréirigab 7 veunor oirruionn amárac 7 uirge coirruicéa 7 cporar ar an uais 7 ar an peirig uile é, 7 for mág na cille, 7 iméirig uair na veamna, 7 vo pónaó aóilair 7 tángasor ciarí ua gcoingéoir i peacéarib én cioróib ir in aóir eadairbuar 7 nír lamrac luge forr in calmair coirruicéa 7 acbeuraoar ní peachao ar ríao an cporgaó 7 a coirpeaccra uair vo beirine anóiaig a éuirp ir in éraógal air acá a nam a nín 7 ní cuingumne ní ói 7 no iméirig iao rin. Ar ann rin vo baóir an cporán fíoinn ua Cionga 7 mac Riontaé Ó Conóirán ann, gonaó iao na cporán rin vo meabruigiró an tuan 7 an oirreiróir rin ó éléir ua gcoingéoir gonaó i rin ealaó no foóam vo ó foim amac 7 vo époránair uile na héirionn ó foim anall f or.

As to the meaning of the word cporán, O'Don. Supp. to O'Reilly's Dict. gives cporán to mean *scurra*, that is a jester or buffoon, and Todd has the following note on the word, Irish Nennius p. 182: "They were the cross-bearers in religious processions, who also combined with that occupation the profession, if we may so call it, of singing satirical poems against those who had incurred Church censure, or were for any other

cause obnoxious." The name  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\tau$ , is given to the species of metre in which the verses ll. 3685-3432 are written. This kind of metre is much more common than O'Curry (H. & S. Cat. 555) makes it out to be. He states that he only knew three specimens of this sort of metre, one being the present poem, another a poem by Andrew Mac Cruitin, the third a poem by O'Bruadar.

3397.  $\eta\alpha\sigma\eta\theta\eta\sigma$   $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma$   $\epsilon\iota\alpha\delta\alpha\epsilon$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\sigma$   $M_2$ ;  $\eta\alpha\sigma\eta\theta\eta\sigma$   $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma$   $\epsilon\iota\alpha\delta\alpha\epsilon$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\sigma$   $M_1$ ; text as in  $F_2$ . 3398.  $\eta\alpha\iota\theta$   $M_2$ .

3404.  $\theta\acute{o}\iota\theta$  is the reading of  $M_1DM_3$ , some copies have  $\theta\acute{o}$ .

3405.  $\theta\acute{o}\iota\theta$  om.  $M_1$ .

3407.  $\eta\alpha\delta\alpha\eta$   $F_2$ .

3408.  $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\delta\alpha\theta$   $F_2$ .

3410.  $\tau\omega\gamma\epsilon$   $F_2$ .

3414.  $\epsilon\omega\iota\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $Fir$ .

3415.  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\epsilon$   $F_2$ .

3416.  $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\eta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ ,  $Fir$ ;  $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\eta\epsilon$   $M_2M_3D$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\eta\epsilon$   $M$ .

3417.  $\epsilon\pi\omega\tau\alpha$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\epsilon\alpha\eta\alpha$   $\eta\sigma$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\epsilon$   $Fir$ ;  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\epsilon$   $F_2$ .

3418.  $\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\sigma$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\epsilon$   $Fir$ ;  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\epsilon$   $F_2$ .

3419.  $\eta\alpha\eta$  om.  $Fir$ ;  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$   $Fir$ ;  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$   $M_1$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$   $D$  IV 2.

3421.  $\theta\omega\eta$   $F_2$ .

3423.  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\epsilon$   $\alpha\eta$   $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\epsilon$   $\eta\alpha$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\eta$   $M_1$ ;  $D$  IV. 2 inserts  $\eta\sigma$  after  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\eta$ .

3425.  $\eta\sigma$   $\eta\alpha\delta\alpha$   $D$  IV 2, written  $\eta\sigma$   $\eta\alpha\delta\alpha\theta$  in G.J.  $\eta\sigma\eta\alpha\delta\alpha$   $Fir$ .

3426.  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\theta\eta\theta\eta\theta\eta$   $M_1$ . In translation *for* chanted *for* read amused.

3427.  $\epsilon\omega\iota\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $F_2$   $M_1$   $Fir$ .

3428.  $\eta\eta\theta\epsilon$   $M_1$ .

3429.  $\eta\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota\eta$  generally.

3431.  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\eta$   $M_2M_3D$ ,  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\eta$   $M_1$ .

3431.  $\eta\alpha\delta$   $Fir$ .  $D$  IV 2,  $\eta\alpha\delta$   $D$ , all the Keating mss. except  $D$  have  $\eta\alpha\theta$ .

3448.  $\eta\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$  *for*  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$ , the Keating mss. generally  $M_1$  however has  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$  and this is the reading of  $D$  IV 2;  $Fir$  has  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$ .

3582. In translation *for* numbers *read* number.

3594.  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\alpha\eta\theta\eta\eta$   $M_2$ . 3597.  $\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\sigma$   $\epsilon\omega\eta\eta\eta$   $\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\epsilon\acute{o}\eta\eta$   $M_1$ .

3599.  $\epsilon\omega\eta\eta\eta$   $M_2$ ,  $\eta\eta$   $M_1$ . 3600.  $\eta\alpha\theta$   $M_1$ , a contr.  $M_2$ .

3608.  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\lambda$   $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$   $M_2$ , as in text  $M_1$ . 3615.  $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$   $M_2$ .

3626.  $\eta\sigma$   $\epsilon\acute{o}\eta\eta\theta\eta\theta\eta\epsilon\alpha\delta$  comes immediately after  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$  in  $M_2$  and in some other copies.

3634.  $\eta\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$   $M_2$ ;  $M_2$  makes  $\eta\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$  or  $\eta\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon\alpha$  gen. cf  $\eta\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon$ ,  $M_1$  makes it  $\eta\sigma\eta\theta\eta\epsilon\alpha\alpha$ .

3691.  $\eta\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_2$ ,  $\eta\alpha\eta\eta\eta$   $M_1$ . 3712.  $\eta\alpha\alpha\epsilon$   $M_1$ .

3716.  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_2$ ,  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_1$ ; the two forms are used in these and other Keating mss.; I have written the word  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$  throughout in the gen. 3839.  $\eta\eta\eta$   $\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_1$ . 3841.  $\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_2$ ;  $\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_1$ .

3846.  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_2$ , and so often.

3862.  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_2$ ;  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_1M_3$ .

3870.  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_2M_3F_2$ ;  $M_1$  does not give this clause;  $\eta\eta$   $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$  in the mss. generally, so sometimes  $\eta\eta$  for  $\eta\eta$ .

3873.  $\eta\alpha$   $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_1$ . 3881.  $\eta\eta$  om.  $M_2$ ;  $M_3M_1$  give.

3885.  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_1$ ;  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $M_3$ ;  $M_2$  as in text.

3898.  $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\eta\eta$   $M_2$  here, but  $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\eta\eta$  in other passages as in 3908;  $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\eta\eta$   $M_1M_3$ .

3920. ցիոլլա Կոմգալլ ոօ ծօր արօժէ և օլլաման քէմ ար քեան, ԴԵ. M

4048. Օրնութ M<sub>1</sub> as in text M<sub>2</sub>. 4049. Գրեթ M<sub>2</sub>.

4053. ոօ ծօլ ոօ իրեւթ լլաթ ցար հարցեթ, ԴԵ. D.

4061. ԲԵԿԻԼԵԼԻՈՆ M<sub>2</sub>.

4110. ոօ Լոճլոննալօմ om M<sub>2</sub> which has ամաժ instead ; DM om. ամաժ ;  
*dele* ամաժ in text.

4117. Կլօլքեթ M<sub>2</sub> ; Կլօլքլօթ M<sub>3</sub>.

4133. քէ for քլալէ War of the Gaedhil, 4136 քալլ Ելաճոնա ԵԵԵ. Ibid.

4150-70. This passage is given in M<sub>1</sub>, a space having been left for it which proved to be too small, hence it is finished at the foot of the page ; om. D ; the absence of this and other passages points perhaps to an early edition of the work.

4163-4181. M<sub>1</sub>, S and D have the tributes to Brian differently put both in form and in position. After line 4115 they give (I quote M<sub>1</sub>, SD are nearly identical here):—քա հէ ան Երլան քօ էրա ան էրեար քի քա էլքարնաճա էլքլօր ծա քալե ոօ քլօգալօ էրլօնն քաճ, ան քէո քի Կոնալքե մօր իճ Երլարքեթլ, ան Եարա քի ԿօրմԲաԿ իճ Երքէ ք ան էրեար քի Երլան. մօր յօմմօրքօ ան էրլալմ Լօլոն ոօ Ելօթ օ էրլ Կօլքեթալօ յ'էրլոնն ոօ Երլան ցաճ Ելաճոնա Լէ Կօլքաճ և էեգլալէ և ցլօնն Կօրթ և ի-էլքմալք էլօրա ծա էօլքլօթ մաճան, ամալ էլարքեօր քլօր Լէ մաԿ Լալ արօլլաճ էրլօնն քան Եսալն ԵարաԿ Կօրթ Եօրաճա Եալե իա քլօլ. Տալմ էաճ իա էրլ ցօլքլօթ քլոն ոօ Երլան անքօ ցօ Կալալք. Եա իլե, քէ էէօ, էրլ քլօլէ ք և Ելօլ ոօ մարքալօ. մլե, էրլ էէօ ք և Ելօլ ոօ Կօրքալօ. Կէլքե քլօլէ ք էէօ էլոնն յարալոն. Կալլ էոննա էրլ քլօլէ ք էրլ քեթօ յ'էրլօնն Եարք. Ելօլ իաճԵա ք քեթէ Երլօլէ Եաճաճ Տէլքք. Ել քլօլ էրլօր իա Երլոնգա ոօ ԵլօլաԿ ան էլօրքալոն քօ քօ քեթէ ք ոօ էլօլալալօլօթ ցօ Կեանն Կօրթ ի ցաճ Ելաճոնա. Եթէ ցէթօ Եթէ ք քէթէ քօլք օ ԿոննաԿալօ ցաճա Տաճա. Կալլ էէօ ԵրաԿ ք Կալլ էէօ Եթէ օ էրլ Կոնալլ. էրլ քլօլէ Եթէ, էրլ քլօլէ մաԿ ք էրլ քլօլէ էլոնն յարալոն օ էրլ Ելքալո. էրլ էալքաԿ Եթէ ք էրլ էալքաԿ քօլք օ Կլաճնալօ քլքքալօ Ելաճ. Եթէ ցէթօ Եթէ օ Կլքլալլալօ. էրլ էէօ մարք, էրլ էէօ քօլք ք էրլ էէօ էլոնն յարալոն օ Լալքլօլօ. էրլ քլօլէ մարք, էրլ քլօլէ մաԿ ք էրլ քլօլէ էլոնն յարալոն օ Կրքալլօ. էրլ էալքաԿ Եաճաճ քլօնա օ Լոճլոննալօ Եթէ ԿլաԿ. Կալլ էոննա, էրլ քլօլէ ք էրլ էէօ էոննա քլօլոն Եարք օ Լոճլոննալօ Լալմալք. Եր քօլլալք էրլ Լոննալքե ան Լօլոնք ոօ Ելօթ Ել Կօլքաճ էեգլալէ էլքէ Կէոնն Կօրթ ցօ քալե Երլան քլալէաճալ քար էլքարթ. իա Լալալքեալմ անքօ ան Տալալքաճ ոօ Ելօթ ար Եարքլօլ էրլօնն ի էլքլ Երլալոն, ք ցլօլ էլքեթօրա ք էրլ քլօլալ Լէլքեթ ան Եսալն քէմքալալէ ք քօլքէլալօ ինքէ է. իա Լալաճ, ԴԵ., as in line 4181 et seq.

4245. Լէւալոնալ M<sub>2</sub> ; Լալաճալ D, ԴԵ.

4258. M<sub>2</sub> wrongly begins a period or paragraph with the words Երլ յ Կօմալքլե, ԴԵ.

4202. քլօլԵԿ մԵօԿալք, War of the Gaedhil.

4221. էեգալք M<sub>2</sub>, էեգալք M<sub>3</sub> ; իա Լալեօլաճալ M<sub>1</sub>, Լալաճալ M<sub>3</sub>D.

4299. Երլան begins a minor paragraph in M<sub>2</sub>.



4303. քարժար as in text  $M_2$ , քարտօր  $M_3$ .  
 4337-8. number too high by twenty.  
 4388. In translation *for* breast *read* brink.  
 4408. ԵԵՏԵԱԾ  $M_2$ . 4409. ԵԱՌԲԱՅԻ  $M_2$ . 4411. ԿՈՄՐԱՅ  $M_2$ .  
 4415. ծօ  $M_2$ , often elsewhere ծօ. 4420. ԿԱԼԼԵԱՅԻ  $M_2$ .  
 4446. ԵԱՌԲԱՅԻ as in text the general reading.  
 4456. Ե  $M_2$ ; Ե  $M_3$ . 4463. ԿԱԼԵՅԻ  $M_2$ .  
 4473. քարքար  $F_1$ , քարքար  $F_2$ ; the word is vague and obscure; P. O'C., who cites this passage, derives it fantastically from քարքար by transposition of letters and changing օ into ր.  
 4483. Սօ ցն  $M_3$ . 4508. ԵԱՌԵԱԾ  $M_2$ .  
 4536. ԽԱՅԼԵԲԵՃԼԱՅԻՆ ԵՓՈՆ  $M_2$ , as in text  $M_1$ .  
 4538. Սօ րգար ԿԱՅԻՌԻ յՈՐ ցԵՃ ԿԼԼ  $M_2$ .  
 Սօ րգար ԿԱՅԻՌԻ յՈՐ ցԵՃ ԿԼՈՅՆ  $M_1$ .  
 Սօ րգար ԿԱՅԻՌԻ յՈՐ ցԵՃ ԿԼՈՅՆ  
 'S ոճար ցԵՃ ԿԱՅԻՌԻ ԵՐՈՅՆ  $M_3$ , W  
 Սօ րգար ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ յԵ ցԵՃ ԵՐԵՄ D.  
 Սօ րգար ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ յԵ ԿԼՈՅՆ  
 'S ոճար ցԵՃ ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ ԵՐՈՅՆ  $F_2$ .  
 Սօ րգար ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ յԵ ԿԼՈՅՆ  
 ոճար ցԵՃ ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ ԵՐՈՅՆ  $F_1$ .  
 Սօ րգար ԿԱՅԻՌԻ յԵ ցԵՃ ԿԼՈՅՆ  
 ոճար ցԵՃ ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ ԵՐՈՅՆ H.  
 Սօ րգար ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ յԵ ԿԵՃ ԿԼՈՅՆ  
 յՈ ցՈՐ ցԵՃ ԵՐՈՅՆ ԵՐՈՅՆ . Bal. 50 b.  
 4540. From this to the end the ms. primarily followed in  $M_3$ .  
 4548. ՍԵՂՈՆԱԾ  $M_3$ . 4552. ԿԱՅԻՌԱԾ  $F_1$ . 4554. ՏԻՐԻԿ  $M_2$ .  
 4556. ՄԲԱՐԼՈՅԻ  $M_3$ ; ՄԲԱՐԼԱԾ  $M_4$ . 4561. ԽԱՌԿԱԾ  $M_3$ .  
 4568. րո om.  $M_2$ ,  $M_1$  gives.  
 4583. ԿԱՐԲԵԱԾ, ԴԵ., poem given in 23 D 5, R I.A., p. 122.  
 4592. the Ե of this line comes immediately after ԿԱՆՏՈՐԵԱ of line 4591 in  $M_3$ , as in text  $F_2$ .  
 4600. ԵՐ ԼԵԱԾԱՐ ԵՐԵԱԾ  $M_1$ ; as in text  $M_3$ .  
 4609. ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ  $M_3$ ; but ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ supra in same ms.  
 4629. ԿԱԼԵՐ ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ om.  $M_3$   $M_5$ ; given in several mss.; *read* ԿԱԼԵՐ, and in translation Malchus.  
 4630. ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵԱԼԼ  $M_3$ ;  $M_1$  as in text.  
 4650. ՍԵՂՈՆԱԾ  $M_3$ , but ԴԱՅԱՐԵ in previous line.  
 4655. ԿԱՅԻՌԻ ԵՐԵԱՐԻԼ om.  $M_3$ . 4658. ցարտօր  $M_3$ .  
 4671. dioceses  $M_3$ .  
 4672. ԵԱՐՐԱՅ for ԼՈՆ ԵԱՐՐՈՅ  $M_3$ ; but the phrase ԵՅ ՐԵՈ ԼՈՆ ԵԱՐՐՈՅ ԼԵԻԵ ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ is inserted in  $M_3$  after ԽԻԵ in line 4674.  
 4678. Some regard ԿԱՅԻՌԻՅԵ and ԾՈՆ ՎԱ ԼԵԱՅԼԱՐ as one diocese; see note on ll. 4715 and 4729.

4674. comlion M<sub>3</sub>; comlionab M<sub>3</sub>. 4687. cupetop M<sub>3</sub>.  
 4688. eadadonpe M<sub>3</sub>.  
 4694. cup M<sub>3</sub> which uses both con and cun in the sense in which the word is used here.  
 4694. bfuigbe M<sub>3</sub>; M<sub>1</sub> as in text.  
 4697. opion M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>5</sub>; some mss. read opionga.  
 4715. for remarks on these dioceses and their boundaries see Cambrensis Eversus, Vol. II. Addendum C.  
 4720. m6ir M<sub>3</sub>; m6ir M<sub>1</sub>. 4722. Spac M<sub>3</sub>; Spaca M<sub>1</sub>.  
 4723. Cpaoi M<sub>1</sub>; Cpui M<sub>3</sub>. 4725. Spuih twice M<sub>3</sub>; Spuih M<sub>1</sub>.  
 4726. beinn M<sub>3</sub>. 4727. hollop M<sub>3</sub>, as in text M<sub>1</sub>.  
 4729. Dr. Reeves (Ecc. Ant. of Down and Connor, p. 139) explains the absence of the boundaries of the diocese of Dun da Leathghlas (Down) from the list by understanding the see of Dun da Leathghlas to be included in that of Cuinnire (Connor). See also Cambrensis Eversus, Vol. II. Addendum C.  
 4732. himrimpe M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>5</sub>; himrimhe M<sub>2</sub>; muir M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>2</sub>.  
 4734. up6oilte M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>.  
 4739. neimtin here M<sub>3</sub>; but neimtin l. 4741.  
 4740. Cill dlad for fairpge M<sub>1</sub>. 4741. Cill dlad M<sub>3</sub>, as in text M<sub>1</sub>.  
 4744. hup coillten M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub>. 4745. linn M<sub>3</sub>; as in text some other copies.  
 4749. eiblinn M<sub>1</sub>, as in text M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>5</sub>. 4752. mileadac M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>1</sub>.  
 4759. da lua M<sub>3</sub>, often written as two words in the Keating mss.  
 4757. Rada Deirccirt M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>D omitting maige; beirpe M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>2</sub>, berpa M<sub>1</sub>.  
 4762. Luimnige M<sub>3</sub>, roir om. M<sub>1</sub>, given M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>5</sub>; ac ar coinne, loadan, M<sub>3</sub>; this punctuation is given in the best Keating mss.; they agree in placing a comma after coinne, thus making loadan a separate name-item; still the correct version probably is ac ar coinne loadan y, gc.; ac har coinne, loadan, lochguir M<sub>2</sub>, om. roir M<sub>2</sub>; an maolcearn ac ar coinne loadan y loea guir, gc., D, in maolcearn roir, ac ar coinne loadan y loe guir M<sub>3</sub>; an maolcearn, ac ar coinne, loadan, loe guir, M<sub>1</sub>. Lodan is now Ludden, pronounced in Irish Luioin. See Ord. Sur. Doc. for Limerick, an maolcearnac roir, ac ar coinne loadan y loe guir F<sub>1</sub>; an maolcearn roir, ac ar coinne, loadan y loe guir F<sub>2</sub>.  
 4763. an ladae m6ir M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub>, an ladeae m6ir M<sub>2</sub>.  
 4765. uinne M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>5</sub>, cuinne M<sub>2</sub>D; cuinne is the form in the Annals of the Four Masters *passim*.  
 4766. Dubadainn M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>5</sub>, Dubabann M<sub>1</sub>. 4767. apretol M<sub>3</sub>.  
 4785. fairpge for muir M<sub>1</sub>. 4788. apretol M<sub>3</sub>, apretol M<sub>1</sub>.  
 4789. ro for re M<sub>3</sub>.  
 4793-7. Some mss. write cpor as M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>M<sub>3</sub>, others use the ✠ instead, as M<sub>2</sub>RF<sub>2</sub>HD. 4798. cpora om. M<sub>3</sub> which puts the ✠ instead.  
 4801. don M<sub>2</sub>. 4812. a om. M<sub>3</sub>.  
 4817. f66pa6 M<sub>3</sub>, as in text. 4835. ac6muio M.  
 4839. m6ir om. M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>5</sub>, give M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>2</sub>. 4841. fi6ro M.

4855. *leit*  $M_3$ , *leat*  $M_1M_2$ . 4856. *leit*  $M_3$ .  
 4857. *leit* om.  $M_3$ . 4862. *cliamain*  $M_3$ .  
 4863. 1. *Malachias* om.  $M_3$ , give  $M_1M_2$ . 4884. *brannouib*  $M_3$ .  
 4896. *ceitne*  $M_3M_2M_1$ ; some mss. have *ceatnar*.  
 4907-8. *ir dūin vā leatglair* om.  $M_3$ .  
 4910. 1. *laorigir é* om.  $M_3$ ; *scuirtar*  $M_3$ . 4914. *an* om.  $M_3$ .  
 4914. *ro* om.  $M_3$ ; *briatna feinleabair*  $M_3$ ;  $M_1$  as in text; *rin* for *riur*  $M_3$ .  
 4917. Nearly all the Keating mss. write *embolis mali*;  $F_1$  has *simbolii*, the final *i* having been first written *s*; see Introduction at beginning of Vol. II.;  $M_2$  has the correct form as in text.  
 4921. *vigenti*  $M_3$ .  
 4927. The word in the mss. is generally *Caseleni* or *Casselensi*; the form now used is *Casseliensi*, which is written in  $M_3$  as a correction in fresh ink.  
 4931. *Apprili*  $M_3$ . 4933. *γ* is inserted before *leagair* in some copies.  
 4936-8. *gillla—leitglinne* om.  $M_3$ .  
 4938. *Toislius*  $M_3RC_1M_1$ ; *Toistius*  $WM_1M_3$ ; see Introduction; *corruir* the copy in 23 G 1, R.I.A.  
 4943. *Torgeslius*  $M_3$ ; *Torgeirur*  $RM_1$ ; *Torgestius*  $WC_1M_1$ ; *Turgesius* 23 G. 1; see Introduction at beginning of Vol. II.  
 4985. *Δ* om.  $M_3$ . 5003. *leit rin* om.  $M_3$ .  
 5010. *leitriocá*  $M_3$ , but *leitne l* 5015 in same ms.  
 5015. *publige*  $M_3$ . 5016-17. 1. *néirinn* om.  $M_3$ . 5030. *Δ* om.  $M_3$ .  
 5037. *leigeab*  $M_3$ ; *léigean* generally. 5043. *óútuib*  $M_3$ .  
 5053. *geallanna* for *geallair* several mss.  
 5057. *Beganbun*  $M_3$ ; the modern form is *Baginbun*. For some account of this place and name see paper by Mr. Goddard H. Orpen, also papers by Mr. Orpen in *Jour. R.S.A.I.*, 1898, p. 155, and 1904, p. 354.  
 5071. *angiol*  $M_3$ . 5091. *Δ* om.  $M_3$ . 5103. *reagrab* sic  $M_3M_1$ .  
 5105. *fillir*  $M_3$ ; *cillir*  $M_3$ .  
 5113. *Diarmuid*  $M_3$ ;  $M_3$  transposes the two names.  
 5130. *lé* before *muirir* om. some mss. 5132. *ionno*  $M_3$ .  
 5138. *fágair*  $M_3$ . 5156. *abradrab*  $M_3$ . 5167. *uata fein* om.  $M_1$ .  
 5170-1. *gibé—amad* om.  $M_3$ . 5181-3. *agur fóir—suir* om.  $M_3$ .  
 5184. *cuirtar*  $M_3$ . 5190. *cibbé*  $M_3$ . 5194. *re teat*  $M_3$ .  
 5196. very frequently *Delagros* in the Keating mss.  
 5199. inserts *ré* after *gab*  $M_3$ . 5202. *ir seicneabair ir* om.  $M_3$ .  
 5213. *o'ionnraigir*  $M_3$ . 5221. *Delagros*  $M_3$  and several other copies.  
 5222. *earscuirre*  $M_3$ . 5230. *gab* for *gababair* some mss.  
 5269-70. For clause *amhairt—muiréabá*  $M_3$  has simply *mar rin*.  
 5274. *in rluag rin leit riur gailuib γ gairdealuib*  $M_3$ , *moirfluag*  $M_3$ .  
 5301. *atclor*  $M_3$ .  
 5302. *Fuagra*  $M_3$ , which however generally writes *fógra* as in 5308; *na bairc*  $M_3$ .  
 5316. *agur—muiréabá* om.  $M_3$ .  $F_2M_3$  give.  
 5317. *congáil*  $M_3$ . 5320. *Thomas*  $M_3$ .



5326-27. herimont mont, that is Hervey of Mount Maurice ; 1apala o' stranguell, that is the Earl of Strigul, also called Strongbow ; see other varieties of these names in the Irish version of Cambrensis' Expugnatio Hibernica, Ed. Stokes, English Historical Review, Vol. xx. p. 77 et seq. The usual reading of the mss. is 1apla ó stranguell, but F<sub>2</sub> has sometimes of, and sometimes o, hence in text it is written o'.

5344. mās for mac M<sub>3</sub>. 5351. Δ om. M<sub>3</sub>. 5353. Riġ M<sub>3</sub>.  
5354. 50 hāē cliaē M<sub>3</sub>. 5357. Connaēt ir om. M<sub>3</sub>.  
5371. ēucca M<sub>3</sub>. 5373. bapc M<sub>3</sub>.  
5376. šaxain, but generally šaxaib or šacraib (šaxraib) as in 5378 M<sub>3</sub>.  
5381. For ecclesiastical censure read an interdict. The word conneal-bābāb is used loosely in this sentence, apparently covering interdict and excommunication.

5396. maiē for mīēro M<sub>3</sub>, mīēro M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub>.  
5401. 20 M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub>, 40 M<sub>3</sub>. 5404. riēe, M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub> give 20.  
5406. bolum .i. Bohun.  
5412. Δn tan roin om. M<sub>3</sub>. 5423. nēriunnn M<sub>3</sub>.  
5427. Brecsper M<sub>3</sub>, Brecsber M<sub>3</sub>, brepper F<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>1</sub> as in text.  
5438. ro M<sub>3</sub>. 5444. Δn ēriunnn M<sub>3</sub>.  
5447-8. ri ri na rgeulaid ri M<sub>3</sub>.  
5452. Bellarmin M<sub>3</sub>; 'n-Δ ēriunnc om. M<sub>3</sub>. 5464. v'uarlaib M<sub>3</sub>.  
5482. pāpa M<sub>3</sub>. 5488. catoilica M<sub>3</sub>.  
5498. vo ēaōib na cārē M<sub>3</sub>.  
5525. v'uarlaib M<sub>3</sub>. 5528. Quartus M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>3</sub>.  
5531. dōbap for vearbāb in some mss. ; riuribūāb M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub>.  
5537. M<sub>3</sub> gives 1193, 1139 M<sub>1</sub>.  
5558. linn om. M<sub>3</sub>, give M<sub>3</sub>, 7c. 5559. catoilica M<sub>3</sub>.  
5562. vo ēaēt innte om. M<sub>3</sub>, gives M.  
5572. oile comes after ēoitēeann in some copies ; M<sub>3</sub> as in text.  
5576. Dioseses M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>1</sub>.  
5584. 4 M<sub>3</sub> ; cēēre M<sub>1</sub>M<sub>3</sub> ; cēēra F<sub>2</sub>. 5599. unap M.  
5602. Δ dēap om. M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>1</sub> ; give F<sub>2</sub>, 7c. 5613. roin oin. M<sub>3</sub>.  
5625. būine ainmānāc om. M<sub>3</sub>, give M<sub>3</sub>, 7c.  
5626. pořannac M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>3</sub>.  
5629. i noiaib bāir M<sub>3</sub> as in text M<sub>3</sub> ; i noioāil bāir dēap .i. hugo mōr  
oe lacy R.

5641. after Seon M<sub>3</sub> M<sub>3</sub>, 7c., have De Curcy, which many copies omit.  
5651. eulurōiōap M<sub>3</sub>.  
5655. 5ur cpeācāb om. M<sub>3</sub>.  
5656. d5ur—ōiōb om. M<sub>3</sub>, gives M<sub>3</sub>.  
5661. tē n-Δ mōgnōm om. M<sub>3</sub>, gives M<sub>3</sub>.  
5672. cūpēap M<sub>3</sub> here as generally.  
5676. filleāb M<sub>3</sub>, cilleāb M<sub>3</sub> as generally.  
5692. i mamurcū S. cāurōm om. M<sub>3</sub>M<sub>3</sub>, gives M<sub>1</sub>, abbāib M<sub>3</sub>.

5695. *abbaid* *M*<sub>3</sub>.

5701. *sa éir rin* om. *M*<sub>4</sub>, gives *M*<sub>5</sub> which om. *for*.

5728-9. *lé—oile* om *M*<sub>3</sub>, gives *M*<sub>6</sub>.

5730. *uaille* om. *M*<sub>3</sub> *M*<sub>5</sub>, gives *F*<sub>2</sub>.

5737-8. *tángaosa* . . . *go tead, 7c.*, an idiomatic expression for a *rapprochement* in such a case.

5741. *ann* after *táinig* given in some mss.

5746. *go cinneadh*; no doubt the author intended this word in a stronger sense than 'accidentally.' It seems certain in any case that Conchubhar's death was compassed by design.

5768. *mópa* for *mópa* *M*<sub>3</sub>.

5778. The names from *Uolthanaig* to the end om. *M*<sub>1</sub> *WC*<sub>1</sub> *C*<sub>2</sub>, give *M*<sub>2</sub> *DM*<sub>2</sub> *H*. There are some other variations in the list of names in several mss.; thus O'Mahony (Translation, pp. 651-2) gives a much longer list than that in text. Perhaps certain scribes wrote in their favourite family names. It is on the whole probable that the author did not put his own name in the list. The names in their modern English form are: Fitzgeralds and Burkes, Butlers and Barrys, De Courcys and Roches, Powers, Fitzmaurices and Graces and Prendergasts, Flemings, Purcells and Prestons, Nugents and Walshes, Tobins and Shortals and Blanches, Birminghams, Condons, Cantwells, Devereuxes, Darcys and Dillons, Morrisises, Esmonds, De Lacys, Browns and Keatings.

## ADDENDUM.

The following list of the counties and of the dioceses of Ireland is usually given in the first part of the history, but in some mss. occurs at the end of Book II. Though not given in this place in *M*<sub>3</sub>, it is added here for the sake of completeness from *M*<sub>3</sub>, being collated with *M*<sub>1</sub>:

*As ro an lion aithearrog atá a néirinn asur an lion o'earrogaid atá fútaib rin so péir éamoen:*

*atáio ceitpe hairroearrug a néirinn, mar atá aithearrog aro macla, p'riotháio éiréann uile, aithearrog áta cliaic, aithearrog cairil, ir aithearrog tuama.*

*Ir fan b'p'riotháio atá na hairrug-re ríor: earrog na m'íde, no so péir éamoen earrog del na m'íreann .i. uirnead, óir ir aoinn soen lig atá i n'uirnead del na m'íreann; ionann ionorro del asur lias, no cloé, asur se b'riú gurab i an cloé roin ir teora roir na ceitpe cóigeat uar beanaó na ceitpe m'íre sa noearnaó an m'íde, so gairmeat del na m'íreann oi, asur gairmtear leac na gcúigeat ói, mar an gcéanna; earrog oúin óa leatglar, earrog cloéair, earrog coinnire, earrog aro ácaio, earrog náta boé, earrog náta lucc, earrog óal nioéair, asur earrog oúine.*

fa aipneapros áta cliaé atá eapros glinne dá lué, eapros fearna, eapros orruige, eapros leitglinne, eapros cille dara.

fa aipneapros cairil atá eapros cille dálua, eapros luimniú, eapros inre cátaig, eapros cille fionnabrad, eapros imlig, eapros rorra cré, eapros puirt lairge, eapros leara méir, eapros cluana eapros corcaige, eapros ruir ó gcairbne, eapros aroa fearna.

fa aipneapros tuama atá eapros cill mic duad, eapros muige eó, eapros eanuiú úuin, eapros cille iarbair, eapros rorra commáin, eapros cluana fearna, eapros ádaib conaire, eapros cille alaid, eapros conuinne, eapros cille monuac, eapros oile fínn. i fí doir an tigearna no péir camoen an tan no horruigeat na ceitre hairneapruis-re a neirinn 1152.

Do cuir mé mórán eapros anro ríor ar long camoen ná fuil ar congáil anoir ná cátaoir eapruis ionnta áct iao ar n-a gcur ar gcúl, agus cuio oile ar n-a gceangal re céile bíob, agus ar n-a gcur fá doineapros oile, mar atá lior mór i fí porc lairge fa doineapros, cluain i fí corcaig fa doineapros oile, agus mar fín uóib ó fín amad.

Ag fí an lion contaeteat atá a neirinn no péir an camoen césona :

atáio veit gconntae i gcúigeat ulaó, mar atá conntae lugháig, conntae aro maáa, conntae úuin seanuinn, conntae anturim, conntae uúil raáan, conntae muineadáin, conntae fear manad, conntae úuin na ngláil, conntae an úuin, conntae an cábáin.

atáio trí conntae ag gabáil leir an míde, mar atá conntae iarbair míde, conntae oiréir míde, agus conntae an longpuirt.

atáio oét gconntae i gcúigeat laigean, mar atá conntae áta cliaé, conntae cille manáin, conntae loáa garman, conntae ceitiorlad, conntae cille dara, conntae cille cainniú, conntae an ríog, conntae na bainríogha.

atáio feadé gconntae fan mhuáin, mar atá conntae tiobrao árann, conntae cruire tiobrao árann, conntae puirt lairge, conntae corcaige, conntae ciarraide, conntae luimniú, conntae an élaír.

atáio cúig conntae i gcúigeat connaét, mar atá conntae na faillíne, conntae muige eó, conntae rorra commáin, conntae liaé-óroma, conntae sligib (nó fé conntae, conntae an élaír an feiread no péir camoen),



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